

IRAQ



A Comprehensive Resource



SENATE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

John Cornyn, Vice Chairman

<http://gop.senate.gov>

202-224-2764



May 21, 2007

Dear Colleague:

Since September 11, 2001, our nation has been engaged in a global war on terror. Our military operations in Iraq represent the primary front in that war, and as you are very well aware, have been the focus of a great deal of concern by many. The debate over Iraq deals with the most important issues we face as members of Congress – our national security and our obligation to support the men and women who voluntarily stand in harm's way to provide that security.

As Vice Chairman of the Republican Conference, I have called on many of you to engage actively in debate on the Senate floor as part of our collective effort to explain the consequences of failure in Iraq and the importance of supporting our troops while they carry out their mission. I appreciate very much your response and the time you have spent on the Senate floor helping to make these points clear – and I believe it is imperative that we continue to do so.

To help you engage in this debate as effectively as possible, my staff has assembled this packet, filled with information that addresses many of the most pressing issues we face. Inside you will find documents produced internally by the Conference, RPC, or Communications Center, as well as materials representing outside sources. The packet is arranged to provide information about the following:

- The consequences of failure in Iraq;
- Some of the many signs of progress that, while deserving of caution, provide modest hope for success for the future of Iraq;
- A collection of the constantly evolving examples of Democrat attacks, negative comments and undermining of our troops in the field; and
- A reminder that the world recognized Saddam Hussein as a threat before we went to war, an action supported by an overwhelming bipartisan majority of Congress.

I hope you find this collection of materials helpful. Please do not hesitate to contact either Chip Roy (4-8582) or Nicole Gustafson (4-2983) of my staff if my office can be of any assistance to you.

Sincerely,



John Cornyn
Vice Chairman
Senate Republican Conference

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THE IRAQ STUDY GROUP REPORT:

Consequences of Continued Decline in Iraq

... If the situation in Iraq continues to deteriorate, the consequences could be severe for Iraq, the United States, the region, and the world.

Continuing violence could lead toward greater chaos, and inflict greater suffering upon the Iraqi people. A collapse of Iraq's government and economy would further cripple a country already unable to meet its people's needs. Iraq's security forces could split along sectarian lines.

A humanitarian catastrophe could follow as more refugees are forced to relocate across the country and the region. Ethnic cleansing could escalate. The Iraqi people could be subjected to another strongman who flexes the political and military muscle required to impose order amid anarchy. Freedoms could be lost.

Other countries in the region fear significant violence crossing their borders. Chaos in Iraq could lead those countries to intervene to protect their own interests, thereby perhaps sparking a broader regional war. ...

Terrorism could grow. As one Iraqi official told us, "Al Qaeda is now a franchise in Iraq, like McDonald's." Left unchecked, al Qaeda in Iraq could continue to incite violence between Sunnis and Shia. A chaotic Iraq could provide a still stronger base of operations for terrorists who seek to act regionally or even globally. Al Qaeda will portray any failure by the United States in Iraq as a significant victory that will be featured prominently as they recruit for their cause in the region and around the world. Ayman al-Zawahiri, deputy to Osama bin Laden, has declared Iraq a focus for al Qaeda: they will seek to expel the Americans and then spread "the jihad wave to the secular countries neighboring Iraq." A senior European official told us that failure in Iraq could incite terrorist attacks within his country.

The global standing of the United States could suffer if Iraq descends further into chaos. Iraq is a major test of, and strain on, U.S. military, diplomatic, and financial capacities. Perceived failure there could diminish America's credibility and influence in a region that is the center of the Islamic world and vital to the world's energy supply. This loss would reduce America's global influence at a time when pressing issues in North Korea, Iran, and elsewhere demand our full attention and strong U.S. leadership of international alliances. And the longer that U.S. political and military resources are tied down in Iraq, the more the chances for American failure in Afghanistan increase.

...



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December 4, 2006

The Consequences of Surrender in Iraq

Executive Summary

- The enemy in Iraq is comprised of both Sunni extremists, namely al Qaeda, and Shia extremists, such as terrorist sponsors in Iran; who both seek to fortify their influence in the region, and expand it beyond.
- Democrats have claimed that a recently declassified National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) concluded that the war in Iraq has “made the war on terror more difficult to win”—even though the terrorists see the war in Iraq and the war against terrorists as one in the same.
- The NIE *actually* concluded that, should jihadists be perceived to have failed in their efforts to undermine democracy in Iraq, “fewer fighters will be inspired to carry on the fight.”
- Thus, the terrorist influence can be prevented from growing if it is defeated in Iraq, which clearly counsels for staying in Iraq to secure in place an Iraqi government that can defend itself against jihadist influence.
- Yet, Democrats continue to push for the “phased withdrawal” of U.S. troops from Iraq without any regard for the ability of the government to govern, defend, and sustain itself.
- As the President contends, “If America were to pull out before Iraq can defend itself, the consequences would be absolutely predictable—and absolutely disastrous.”
- Iran and al Qaeda would be the greatest beneficiaries of a premature withdrawal. They would see it as a victory for political violence and their extremist ideology.
- Moderate regimes in the region would then similarly be threatened by extremist groups in their own countries who rely upon political violence, and by state sponsors of terrorism.
- The enemy would then have a base of operations, like Afghanistan under the Taliban was for al Qaeda—only this time with oil resources to draw upon.
- The terrorists would use this base and those resources to continue to export their extremist ideology and to target U.S. interests for attack—even if U.S. troops were no longer in Iraq or the region.

The Democrats' Disregard for the Consequences

Just as General Petraeus shows signs of success, Democrats look to micromanage his mission and cut his resources

At the same time as General Petraeus commented on early signs of success for his mission and the need for a “sustained” effort, Democrats prepared to strip his resources:

- “We are in any event in the early days of this endeavor, an endeavor that will take months not days to fully implement and one that will have to be sustained to achieve its desired effect. While too early to discern significant trends there have been a few encouraging signs. Sectarian killings for example have been lower in Baghdad over the past several weeks than in the previous months. There also seems to be less sectarian displacement. In fact some families have returned to the neighborhoods from which they were displaced...” [General David Petraeus, Press Conference, March 8, 2007]

And this week showed more signs of progress:

- “With the first full month of the Baghdad security plan completed, the Iraqi military announced Wednesday that the level of violence in the capital had decreased substantially. ... There is little doubt among American and Iraqi officials that the new security plan has decreased some forms of violence, especially the mass kidnappings and assassinations that generally become apparent from the bodies that show up at the morgue. Residents in some Baghdad neighborhoods also report that certain shopping districts have started to come back to life.” [New York Times, “Baghdad Violence Declines in Security Push, Iraq Says,” March 15, 2007]
- “Bomb deaths have gone down 30 percent in Baghdad since the U.S.-led security crackdown began a month ago. Execution-style slayings are down by nearly half. The once frequent sound of weapons has been reduced to episodic, and downtown shoppers have returned to outdoor markets—favored targets of car bombers. There are signs of progress in the campaign to restore order in Iraq, starting with its capital city.” [Associated Press, “Some Progress May Mean Hope for Baghdad,” March 14, 2007].

The consequences of withdrawal:

The 2007 National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq warned that “a significant increase in the scale and scope of sectarian conflict in Iraq” would follow a rapid withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq, which is what the Democrats have advocated. Likely consequences identified by the NIE include:

- Massive civilian casualties and forced population displacement;
- Al Qaeda in Iraq would attempt to use parts of the country—particularly al-Anbar province—to plan increased attacks in and outside of Iraq;
- Kurdish moves to control Kirkuk and strengthen autonomy, could prompt Turkey to launch a military incursion.

On the other hand, if American troops can help Iraqis improve the security situation, the NIE said that “Iraqi leaders could have an opportunity to begin the process of political compromise necessary for longer term stability, political progress, and economic recovery.”

The Democrats’ Three-Step Slow-Bleed Strategy on Iraq Ends with Cutting Off Funds:

On Wednesday, Senator Russ Feingold (D-Wis.) revealed the Democrats’ real strategy on Iraq.

Step one was a vote on the surge. **Step two** is a vote on a binding resolution setting a timetable for withdrawal. And **step three** will be a vote to cut off funds for the troops. Sen. Feingold implored his Democrat colleagues, “If we are serious about opposing the war, we must be serious about ending funding for the war.”

Editorial Pages Have Expressed Opposition to the Democrats’ Plan for Iraq:

- The *Washington Post* wrote that the Democrats’ legislation is “something of a trick” and warned that “aggressive oversight is quite different from mandating military steps according to an inflexible timetable conforming to the need to capture votes in Congress or at the 2008 polls.” [*Washington Post*, “The Pelosi Plan for Iraq,” March 13, 2007]
- The *Los Angeles Times* questioned “Do we really need a General Pelosi,” and said that the Democrats’ plan for Iraq “is an unruly mess: bad public policy, bad precedent and bad politics. If the legislation passes, Bush says he’ll veto it, as well he should.” [*Los Angeles Times*, “Do We Really Need a General Pelosi,” March 12, 2007]

Setting The Record Straight:

Iraq Is The Central Front Of Al Qaeda's Global Campaign

"All Americans are entitled to their own opinions about Iraq, but they are not entitled to their own facts. We all wish al Qaeda were no longer a threat, but the reality is Gen. Petraeus calls them 'probably public enemy number one' in Iraq. It is impossible to completely segregate al Qaeda's attacks in Iraq from sectarian violence because al Qaeda's explicit goal is to create sectarian violence to destabilize the government so they can establish a safe haven within the country. Considering Gen. Petraeus' comments, the National Intelligence Estimate, and news media reports, al Qaeda's role in fomenting violence in Iraq is ignored at our own peril."

– White House Press Secretary Tony Snow, 5/3/07

Some news reports claim President Bush is overemphasizing al Qaeda's role in Iraq violence.

- **But General David Petraeus says al Qaeda is "probably public enemy number one" in Iraq:**
"Secretary Gates noted the other day that al Qaeda has declared war on all Iraqis ... I think it is probably public enemy number one. It is the enemy whose actions sparked the enormous increase in sectarian violence that did so much damage to Iraq in 2006, the bombing of the Al Askari mosque in Samarra, the gold-domed mosque there, the third holiest Shi'a shrine." (Gen. David Petraeus, Press Briefing, The Pentagon, 4/26/07)
 - **Gen. Petraeus: "Iraq is, in fact, the central front of al Qaeda's global campaign."**
- **National Intelligence Estimate: "If such a rapid withdrawal [e.g., over 12-18 months] were to take place ... AQI would attempt to use parts of the country – particularly al-Anbar province – to plan increased attacks in and outside of Iraq ..."** (National Intelligence Council, National Intelligence Estimate: "Prospects for Iraq's Stability: A Challenging Road Ahead," January 2007)
- **Director of National Intelligence Mike McConnell: al Qaeda's "major effort is to prompt sectarian violence."** SEN. LIEBERMAN: "So my question is, is it not correct that we have concluded that one of the major goals of al Qaeda in Iraq is to stimulate the sectarian violence that some describe as a civil war? Is that correct?" ADM. MCCONNELL: "Yes, sir. I would agree with that. There has been some evidence that those in Pakistan and those in Iraq had some disagreements. But I would agree with exactly the way you described it – that the major effort is to prompt sectarian violence to keep the violence at an increasing level going forward." (Committee On Armed Services, U.S. Senate, Hearing, 2/27/07)
- **CIA Director Gen. Michael Hayden: "... I strongly believe [U.S. failure in Iraq] would lead to al Qaeda with what it is they said is their goal there, which is the foundations of the caliphate, and in operational terms for us, a safe haven from which then to plan and conduct attacks against the West."** (Committee On Intelligence, U.S. House Of Representatives, Hearing, 1/18/07)
- **Defense Intelligence Agency Director Gen. Michael Maples: "Al Qaeda in Iraq is the largest and most active of the Iraq-based terrorist groups."** "[Al Qaeda in Iraq] attacks against Iraqi government targets and coalition forces continue with a particular intent to accelerate sectarian

violence and to destabilize Baghdad. ... Al Qaeda in Iraq continues to pose a regional threat and aspires to become a global threat." (Committee On Armed Services, U.S. Senate, Hearing, 2/27/07)

- **House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer (D-MD): "Al Qaeda obviously is a very significant presence [in Iraq] at this point in time."** (Rep. Steny Hoyer, News Conference, Washington, DC, 4/25/07)
- **Recent news reporting on al Qaeda's role in Iraq violence:**
 - **CNN's Hugh Riminton:** "... al Qaeda also claimed responsibility for two suicide truck bombs used to kill nine U.S. soldiers and wound 20 more at a patrol base in Diyala Province." (CNN's "CNN Newsroom," 5/2/07)
 - **Chicago Tribune:** "... a suicide car bomber killed 10 Iraqi soldiers at a checkpoint in the city, 50 miles north of Baghdad. Al Qaeda in Iraq claimed responsibility for that attack..." ("U.S. Military Death Toll Rises Above 100 For Month," *Chicago Tribune*, 5/1/07)
 - **The Washington Post:** "On Tuesday, the Islamic State of Iraq, an umbrella Sunni insurgent organization said to have been created by al-Qaeda in Iraq, asserted responsibility for the attack in Sadah." (Sudarsan Raghavan and Thomas E. Ricks, "Outpost Attack Highlights Troop Vulnerabilities," *The Washington Post*, 4/25/07)
 - **Agence France-Presse:** "Ansar al Sunna, which is linked to Al-Qaeda, has claimed responsibility for attacks in Iraq including bombings in northern Iraq in May 2005 in which 84 people were killed." ("US Concerns In Germany Boost Security After Threat," *Agence France-Presse*, 4/20/07)
 - **The Associated Press:** "The Islamic State in Iraq, an al-Qaida-linked group, claimed responsibility for the attack on al-Zubaie, which killed nine people." (Hamza Hendawi, "Senior Leader Of Key Iraqi Insurgent Group Killed, Al-Qaida Is Blamed," *The Associated Press*, 3/27/07)
- **Osama Bin Laden: Baghdad is "the capital of the caliphate."** (Text Of Bin Laden's Audio Message To Muslims In Iraq, Posted On Jihadist Websites, 12/28/04)
 - **Bin Laden: "The most important and serious issue today for the whole world is this third world war ... raging in [Iraq]."** BIN LADEN: "I now address my speech to the whole of the Islamic nation: Listen and understand. The issue is big and the misfortune is momentous. The most important and serious issue today for the whole world is this Third World War, which the Crusader-Zionist coalition began against the Islamic nation. It is raging in the land of the two rivers. The world's millstone and pillar is in Baghdad, the capital of the caliphate." (Text Of Bin Laden's Audio Message To Muslims In Iraq, Posted On Jihadist Websites, 12/28/04)

Our Strategy In Iraq Is Aimed At Both Sectarian Violence And Al Qaeda

Some news reports claim the White House has a plan to deemphasize sectarian fighting in Iraq.

- In his remarks yesterday, President Bush mentioned the sectarian violence in Iraq 10 times:

1. **President Bush:** "The terrorists and extremists and radicals set off a wave of sectarian violence that engulfed that young democracy's capital. It threatened to destabilize the entire country."
(President George W. Bush, Remarks To the Associated General Contractors Of America, Washington, DC, 5/3/07)
2. **President Bush:** "And their job was to go after the extremists and radicals who were inciting sectarian violence."
3. **President Bush:** "And, finally, it's important to measure the level of sectarian violence."
4. **President Bush:** "If the objective is to bring security to the capital, one measurement is whether or not sectarian violence is declining."
5. **President Bush:** "...[I]n spite of the fact that we haven't fully implemented the plan, the number of sectarian murders in Baghdad has dropped substantially."
6. **President Bush:** "Even as the sectarian attacks have declined, the overall level of violence in Baghdad remains high."
7. **President Bush:** "[Spectacular attacks] are part of al Qaeda's calculated campaign to reignite sectarian violence in Baghdad, to discourage the Iraqi citizen, and to break support for the war here at home."
8. **President Bush:** "Despite [al Qaeda's] tremendous brutality, they failed to provoke the large-scale sectarian reprisals that al Qaeda wants."
9. **President Bush:** "And the definition of success as I described is sectarian violence down."
10. **President Bush:** "[Our military commanders] go into a neighborhood in Baghdad that had been ravaged by sectarian violence, they bring order with the Iraqis, they stay in place, they gain the confidence of the people, and there is some reconstruction money to help provide jobs of cleaning up neighborhoods and rebuilding storefronts."

ABC News

New Tape: Al Qaeda No. 2 Wants 200,000-300,000 U.S. Dead in Iraq: Ayman al-Zawahiri Says Al Qaeda Wants to Spill More U.S. Blood Before America Withdraws

May 5, 2007

<http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/story?id=3143623>

In a new video posted today on the Internet, al Qaeda's number two man, Ayman al Zawahiri, mocks the bill passed by Congress setting a timetable for the pullout of U.S. troops in Iraq.

"This bill will deprive us of the opportunity to destroy the American forces which we have caught in a historic trap," Zawahiri says in answer to a question posed to him an interviewer.

Continuing in the same tone, Zawahiri says, "We ask Allah that they only get out of it after losing 200,000 to 300,000 killed, in order that we give the spillers of blood in Washington and Europe an unforgettable lesson." ...

Los Angeles Times

No choice: Stay the course in Iraq: U.S. leadership deserves support for one last effort to succeed, says a retired Army general

By Barry R. McCaffrey

April 3, 2007

<http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/la-oe-mccaffrey3apr03.0.5919109.story?coll=la-opinion-righttrail>

... What is the basis for hope? U.S. troops continue to show determination, discipline and courage. We will have organized 370,000 members of the Iraqi police and army, in 120 battalions, by the end of the year. The Maliki government has finally gotten its nerve and allowed joint operations by its police and U.S. special operations forces to arrest Sadr militia members in Baghdad. Petraeus has placed more than 50 Iraqi/U.S. police and army strong points throughout the city. The murder rate has plummeted in response. The Sunni tribes in Anbar province have turned on the foreign fighters.

...

The American people have walked away from support of this war. The Army is beginning to show signs of great strain. Many units are now on their third combat tour, and the tours are being routinely extended. Recruiting standards are being lowered. Our equipment is shot. By the beginning of the coming year, we will be forced to downsize our deployment to Iraq or the Army will begin to unravel.

The United States is now at a crossroads. We are in a position of strategic peril. We need to support the U.S. leadership team in Iraq for this one last effort to succeed.

TROOPS RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO STAY STRONG

"The American public is not tired of the war; they are tired of believing that they are losing. They are tired of the daily drumbeat of pessimism and defeat promoted daily by our media and by some in our Congress. They don't understand that building a democracy is a slow process that takes years, that victory in Iraq will be more like the fall of communism than like VE day in 1945. Like it or not, it is incumbent upon us in the military to correct this misrepresentation of our efforts. We have a duty to convince the American public why we must stay and finish the mission. Should we have to? Did we sign up to do that? The answers are no and yes, respectively. No we shouldn't have to ask to be allowed to win a war, but yes we signed up to complete a mission. No whining allowed... It is not enough that we are making progress here in Iraq. We must make progress at home as well to ensure we are given the funds, support and time needed to finish the job. There is no doubt that we can create a stable democracy in Iraq---if we have courage enough to do so."

– Lt. Jason Nichols, founder of www.AppealForCourage.org

<http://www.heritage.org/Research/NationalSecurity/hl928.cfm>

...**Iraq.** Iraq is a critical front in the war against al-Qaeda because it has become a rallying point, a major propaganda issue, a staging area, and a potentially fertile recruiting ground for al-Qaeda. The United States and its allies cannot allow Zarqawi's al-Qaeda thugs to establish a permanent base in Iraq, which would become a strategic springboard for al-Qaeda to penetrate the heart of the Arab world, threaten moderate Arab regimes, and disrupt Persian Gulf oil exports.

In an audiotape released on December 27, 2004, bin Laden named Abu Musab Zarqawi as his deputy in charge of al-Qaeda operations in Iraq. Zarqawi, a Jordanian of Palestinian descent, met bin Laden during the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan, but had retained his independence, in part because he believed bin Laden was too soft. Although they shared the same long-term goal of building a global Muslim state under a new caliphate, Zarqawi held a fierce hostility to Shiite Muslims, whom he regarded as heretics who should be converted or slaughtered, while bin Laden was willing to paper over sectarian differences until the "far enemy," the United States, was defeated.

As a former prison enforcer, Zarqawi also displayed a ruthless streak that shocked even some of bin Laden's supporters. He deployed truck bombs against Shiite mosques and religious ceremonies in Iraq in an attempt to provoke a civil war that would make Iraq ungovernable. Zarqawi also has made extensive use of videotaped beheadings of hostages in Iraq, which became a kind of popular jihadist pornography on extremist Islamic Web sites.

As Zarqawi became increasingly visible due to his highly publicized atrocities, and while al-Qaeda's leaders hunkered down in the Pakistan/Afghanistan/Kashmir region, there was a real danger that al-Qaeda would be eclipsed by Zarqawi's Tawhid (Monotheism) group. Bin Laden essentially decided to anoint Zarqawi as his deputy in Iraq, despite their ideological differences, in order to extend the al-Qaeda "brand" to the Iraqi front, which had become an increasingly important theater in the global terrorist war.

Although absorbing Zarqawi's predominantly Jordanian, Palestinian, and Syrian supporters gave al-Qaeda a stronger presence in Iraq and in Europe, where Zarqawi had developed an independent network, it led to ideological tensions within al-Qaeda. In July 2005, bin Laden's chief lieutenant, Ayman al-Zawahiri sent a letter to Zarqawi, subsequently intercepted, that urged Zarqawi to avoid making the same mistake that the Taliban had made in Afghanistan--ignoring the importance of popular support.

But Zarqawi apparently has spurned this advice and continued to massacre Iraqi civilians indiscriminately, which has led to a backlash by Sunni Arabs who form the backbone of the Iraqi insurgency. Zarqawi's al-Qaeda has clashed violently with other insurgent groups who believe his nihilistic terrorism is undermining the insurgency. On November 9, 2005, Zarqawi's group launched suicide bombings at three hotels in Amman, Jordan, slaughtering scores of Jordanian and Palestinian civilians, including some attending a wedding party. The subsequent backlash against al-Qaeda in Jordan has been accompanied by criticism of al-Qaeda's tactics by many Muslims, even some radical Islamists who share its long-term goals.

The United States and the Iraqi government should exploit the Sunni Arab backlash against al-Qaeda's indiscriminate violence by coaxing Sunni Arab nationalists into a broad national government and isolating al-Qaeda and other extremist Islamic groups. This would help take the steam out of the insurgency and help the new Iraqi government to build up the country's security services.

Now that Iraq has become, by al-Qaeda's own reckoning, a crucial front in the global war to build a radical Islamic empire, the collapse of Iraq's new democratic government would be a huge victory for al-Qaeda. Any "exit strategy" for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq that is perceived by Muslims as a victory for al-Qaeda would boost the group's ability to recruit new members far beyond the current rate...

Speech of Sen. Joe Lieberman
Senate Floor
April 26, 2007

Mr. President, the supplemental appropriations bill we are debating today contains language that would have Congress take control of the direction of our military strategy in Iraq. ... [B]ecause I strongly oppose its language on Iraq, I will vote no.

Earlier this week, the Senate majority leader ... laid out the case for why the bill now before this Chamber, in his view, offers a viable alternative strategy for Iraq. It was the most comprehensive recent argument in support of this position, and so I wish to address myself to its content respectfully and point by point. ...

The first step, he said, is to: “transition the U.S. mission away from policing a civil war ... to training and equipping Iraqi security forces, protecting U.S. forces, and conducting targeted counter-terror operations.”

I ask my colleagues to step back for a moment and consider this plan. When we say that U.S. troops shouldn't be policing a civil war, that their operation should be restricted to the narrow list of missions, what does this actually mean? To begin with, it means our troops will not be allowed to protect the Iraqi people from the insurgents and militias and terrorists who are trying to terrorize and kill them. Instead of restoring basic security, which General Petraeus has effectively argued should be the focus of any counter-insurgency campaign, it means our soldiers would, instead, be ordered, by force of this proposed law, not to stop the sectarian violence happening all around them no matter how vicious or horrific it becomes. I fear if we begin to withdraw, it will become both vicious and horrific.

In short, it means telling our troops to deliberately and consciously turn their backs on ethnic cleansing, to turn their backs on the slaughter of innocent civilians—men, women, and children singled out and killed on the basis of their religion alone or their ethnicity. It means turning our backs on the policies that led us correctly to intervene in the civil war in Yugoslavia in the 1990s, the principles that today lead many of us to cry out and demand intervention in Darfur. To me, this makes no moral sense at all.

It also makes no strategic or military sense. Al-Qaida's own leaders have repeatedly said that one of the ways they intend to achieve victory in Iraq is to provoke civil war. ... The sectarian violence the majority leader says he wants to order American troops to stop policing, in other words, is the very same sectarian violence al-Qaida hopes will take it to victory. The suggestion that we can draw a bright legislative line between stopping terrorists in Iraq and stopping civil war in Iraq flies in the face of this reality. I don't know how to say it any more plainly. It is al-Qaida that is trying to inflame a full-fledged civil war in Iraq. So we cannot both fight al-Qaida and get out of the civil war. They are one.

The majority leader said on Monday that he believes U.S. troops will still be able to conduct targeted counter-terror operations under his plan. Even if we stop trying to protect civilians in Iraq, in other words, we can still go after the bad guys. But, again, I ask my colleagues, how would this translate into reality on the ground? How would we find these terrorists, who do not gather on conventional military bases or fight in conventional formations?

By definition, targeted counter-terrorism requires our forces to know where, when, and against whom to strike, and that, in turn, requires accurate, actionable, real-time intelligence. This is the kind of intelligence which can only come from ordinary Iraqis—the sea of people among whom the terrorists hide. That, in turn, requires interacting with the Iraqi people on a close, personal, daily basis. It requires winning individual Iraqis to our side because they conclude we are there on their side, gaining their trust, and convincing them they can count on us to keep them safe from the terrorists if they share valuable information about them. This is no great secret. It is at the heart of what is happening in Iraq today and is part of the Petraeus plan.

In sum, on this point, you can't have it both ways. You can't withdraw combat troops from Iraq and still say you are going to fight al-Qaida there. If you believe that there is no hope of winning in Iraq or that the cost of victory there is not worth it, then you should be for complete withdrawal as soon as possible.

There is another irony in the Iraq language in this bill. For most of the past 4 years, under former Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, the United States did not try to establish basic security in Iraq. Rather than deploying enough troops necessary to protect the Iraqi people, the focus of our military has been on training and equipping Iraqi forces, protecting our own forces, and conducting targeted antiterrorist sweeps and raids—in other words, the very same missions proposed by the proponents of the legislation before us.

That Rumsfeld strategy failed, and we know why it failed. It failed because we didn't have enough troops doing the right things to ensure security, which in turn created an opening for al-Qaida and its allies to exploit and allowed sectarian violence to begin to run rampant. Al-Qaida stepped into the security vacuum, as did the sectarian militias, and through horrific violence created a climate of fear and insecurity in which political and economic progress became impossible.

For years, many Members of Congress saw this and spoke to it. We talked about it. We called for more troops and a new strategy—and, for that matter, a new Secretary of Defense. Yet now, when President Bush has come around, when he has acknowledged the mistakes that have been made and the need to focus on basic security in Iraq and to install a new Secretary of Defense and a new commander in Iraq, now his critics in Congress have changed their minds and decided that the old failed strategy—the Rumsfeld strategy—wasn't so bad after all, because that is what would be adopted in the language on Iraq in this bill. What is going on here? What has changed so that the strategy we criticized and rejected in 2006 suddenly makes sense in 2007?

The second element in the plan outlined by the majority leader on Monday is the phased redeployment of our troops no later than October 1, 2007. Let us be absolutely clear what this means. The legislation would impose a binding deadline for U.S. troops to begin retreating from Iraq. That withdrawal would happen regardless of conditions on the ground, regardless of the recommendations of General Petraeus—in short, regardless of reality, on October 1, 2007. As far as I can tell, none of the supporters of withdrawal have attempted to explain why October 1 is the magic date, what strategic or military significance this date holds. Why not September 1? Why not January 1 or April 1? October 1, 2007, is a date as arbitrary as it is inflexible. It is, I contend, a deadline for defeat. ...

According to the legislation now before us, the withdrawal will happen, regardless of what the Iraqi Government does. How, then, if you are an Iraqi Government official, does this give you any incentive to make the right choices? On the contrary, there is compelling reason to think a legislatively directed withdrawal of American troops will have exactly the opposite effect than its sponsors intend. ...

Second, the majority leader said withdrawing our troops will “reduce the specter of the U.S. occupation which gives fuel to the insurgency.”

My colleague from Nevada, in other words, is saying the insurgency is in some measure being provoked by the very presence of American troops. By diminishing that presence, presumably the insurgency will diminish.

But I ask my colleagues, where is the evidence to support this theory? I find none. In fact, all the evidence I find supports the opposite conclusion. ...

[I]n each of these places where U.S. forces pulled back, al-Qaida and sectarian warriors rushed in. Rather than becoming islands of peace, they became safe havens for terrorists, islands of fear and violence.

So I ask advocates of withdrawal, on what evidence, on what data have you concluded that pulling U.S. troops out will weaken the insurgency there when every single experience we have had since 2003 suggests that withdrawal, the kind of withdrawal mandated by this legislation, will strengthen the terrorists and insurgents and increase violence?

I ask my colleagues to consider the words of Sheikh Abdul Sattar, one of the leading tribal leaders in Anbar Province, who is now fighting on our side against al-Qaida because he is convinced we are on his side. ...

“In my personal opinion, and in the opinion of most of the wise men of Anbar, if the American forces leave right now, there will be civil war and the area will fall into total chaos.” ...

Senator Reid also observed there is “a large and growing population of millions—who sit precariously on the fence. They will either condemn or contribute to terrorism in the years ahead. We must convince them of the goodness of America and Americans. We must win them over.”

On this I completely agree with my friend from Nevada. But my question to him and others supporting this language is this: How does this strategy you propose in this bill possibly help win over this population of millions in Iraq who sit precariously on the fence?

What message, I ask, does this legislation announce to these people who are the majority in Iraq? How will they respond when we tell them we are no longer going to make an effort to protect them and their families against insurgents and death squads? How will they respond when we declare we will be withdrawing our forces, regardless of whether they are making progress in the next few months toward political reconciliation? Where will their hopes be for a better life when we withdraw the troops that are the necessary precondition for the security and stability and opportunity for a better life that the majority of Iraqis clearly yearn for?

Do my friends believe this is the way to convince Iraqis and the world of the goodness of America and Americans? Does anyone in this Chamber believe that by announcing a date certain for withdrawal we will empower Iraqi moderates, the mainstream, or enable Iraq's reconstruction, or open more schools for their children or more hospitals for their families or provide more freedom for everyone? With all due respect, this is a fantasy.

The third step the majority leader proposes is to impose "tangible, measurable, and achievable benchmarks on the Iraqi government."

I am all for such benchmarks. In fact, Senator McCain and I were among the first to propose legislation to apply such benchmarks on the Iraqi government.

But I don't see how this plan will encourage Iraqis to meet these or any other benchmarks, given its ironclad commitment to abandon them—regardless of how they behave.

We should of course be making every effort to encourage reconciliation in Iraq and the development of a decent political order that Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds can agree on.

But even if today that political solution was found, we cannot rationally think that our terrorist enemies like al-Qaida in Iraq will simply vanish.

Al-Qaida is not mass murdering civilians on the streets of Baghdad because it wants a more equitable distribution of oil revenues. Its aim in Iraq is not to get a seat at the political table.

It wants to blow up the table—along with everyone seated at it. Al-Qaida wants to destroy any prospect for democracy in Iraq, and it will not be negotiated or reasoned out of existence. It must be fought and defeated through force of arms. And there can be no withdrawal, no redeployment from this reality.

The fourth step that the majority leader proposed on Monday is a "diplomatic, economic, and political offensive ... starting with a regional conference working toward a long-term framework for stability in the region."

I understand why we are drawn to ideas such as those that are in this legislation on Iraq. All of us are aware of the justified frustration, fatigue, and disappointment of the American people with Iraq. All of us would like to believe there is a better solution—quicker, easier—to the challenges we face in Iraq. But none of this gives us an excuse to paper over hard truths of which I have tried to speak. We delude ourselves if we think we can wave a legislative wand and suddenly our troops in the field will be able to distinguish between al-Qaida terrorism and sectarian violence or that Iraqis will suddenly settle their political differences because our troops are leaving or that sweet reason alone will suddenly convince Iraq and Syria to stop destabilizing Iraq, stop enabling the terrorists and insurgents who are killing too many Americans and Iraqis there today.

What we need now is a sober assessment of the progress we are beginning to make and a recognition of the significant challenges we still face. There are many uncertainties before us, many complexities, many challenges. Barely half of the new troops General Petraeus requested have even arrived in Iraq.

In following General Petraeus's path, there is no guarantee of success, but there is hope and a new plan for success. In rejecting General Petraeus's path, as this legislation would do, there is a guarantee of failure and, I fear, disaster. The plan embedded in this language contains no reasonable prospects for success. It is a strategy based on catch phrases and bromides rather than military realities and all that is on the line for us in Iraq.

It does not learn from the many mistakes that have been made in Iraq. Rather, it promises to repeat them. Let me be absolutely clear. In my opinion, Iraq is not yet lost, but if we follow the plan in this legislation, it will be lost and so, I fear, will much of our hope for stability in the Middle East and security from terrorism here at home. That is why I will vote no.

Senator Lindsay Graham
Senate Floor
April 25, 2007

The President will veto this measure. He should. It is one of the worst ideas to ever come out of the Congress in the history of warfare that the United States has been engaged in. It sets a date for withdrawal. ... It intrudes on the President's Commander in Chief role. It is letting the enemy know exactly what they have to do in terms of date and time to win in Iraq. Everyone who dies waiting on the time to pass, what have they died for? What have they been injured for?

What I would like to point out is that we should talk about those who have lost their lives in Iraq wearing the uniform, and civilians included, who have been serving our country. But we shouldn't use their deaths as a reason to withdraw from a war we can't afford to lose—and we have not lost. We should be honoring their service and their sacrifice, their ultimate sacrifice, because they are standing for our national security interests. Why do they serve? ... What do they see about Iraq that people here in the Senate are blinded to? ...

Because they know after having gone that if we win in Iraq, their children, their grandchildren, the Nation as a whole is more secure. And if we lose in Iraq, the war is not over, it just gets bigger, and the likelihood of their children being involved in a war in the Middle East goes up, not down. So that is why they go. That is why they are not withdrawing. That is why enlistments are up, not down, because they get it.

The Senate doesn't get it. The Democratic leadership doesn't get it at all. Blinded by a dislike of this President, they can't see clearly what is going on in Iraq. Whether we should have gone or not is over; we are there. There are other people who are there who would like to win this war. Al-Qaida is there in large numbers, trying to kill this infant democracy, because they know if a democracy can flourish in Iraq, their agenda has taken a mighty blow.

How are they trying to drive us out? By killing civilians and coalition forces in as large a number as they can muster.

So is it going to be the foreign policy of the United States when it comes to fighting terrorism that if they can kill enough of us—whatever that magic number is—we leave? You win? Do you think for one moment declaring Iraq lost makes us safer? ...

Why is Iran playing so hard in Iraq? The biggest nightmare to this Iranian theocracy would be a democracy on their border, where different groups would live together, where a woman could have a say about her children, where people could vote for their leaders, not be dictated to from on high. That is why they are playing in Iraq. That is why al-Qaida is there.

The question is, why do we want to leave? It is tough to watch young Americans killed and maimed in war, but we didn't start this war. ... The people who attacked us on September 11, 2001, there will never be a surrender document negotiated with them.

Iraq was about replacing a dictator ... From this dictatorship we are trying to do something new and different for the Mideast, and it will inure to our benefit greatly as a nation: create the ability of different people from different backgrounds to vote for their leaders, to live under the rule of law, and not the rule of the gun. That makes us safer. It changes the Mideast, and it is a great blow to the terrorists. That is why they enlist. That is why they keep reenlisting. That is why they are dying.

Now, our majority leader, Senator Reid ... has made a colossal mistake for the ages by declaring this war lost. Not only does it run against the grain of the way Americans feel about combat when our Nation is at war, it runs against the reality of the consequences of having declared the war lost. To me, it shows a lack of understanding of what that statement means because when you say the war is lost, the next question to ask is, if we lost, who won? In war, there are winners and there are losers, and if the majority leader has declared us the loser, then the question needs to be asked by the world and this country: Who won that war in Iraq?

Well, I will tell you who will claim credit for winning the war in Iraq — al-Qaida. They will put on their Web site and in their propaganda to anybody who will listen: We won in Iraq. I guarantee you, if we lost, they won. Do you feel comfortable with that as a Senator representing the United States of America? I don't.

Who else won, if we lost? The Shia extremists who are trying to turn Iraq into a theocracy aligned with Iran. Does that satisfy you as a United States Senator? Is that OK with you? It is certainly not OK with me. ...

This is not Vietnam, I say to my colleagues. This is the 1930s all over again where we have world leaders trying to appease a tyrant—give him Czechoslovakia, give him one more country, him being Hitler. Did that satisfy his appetite? The moral of the story is that when we let tyranny go unchecked, when we give into the dark forces of humanity, when we allow people who slaughter the innocent to win wars, we don't end their desire, we whet their appetite.

We have not lost this war. We will never lose this war as long as we have the will to win. If we have half the political courage as those who reenlist and go back three and four times, or the physical courage, there is nothing we can't accomplish in Iraq.

Some people worry about their next election, and they are trying to get right with the polls. My focus is on those who reenlist time and again and who are literally sacrificing everything they have to offer to their family and to their country. ...

Are we going to let suicide bombers define the foreign policy of the United States? If we give them Iraq, you better double the size of the military because we are going to go back with a bigger war,

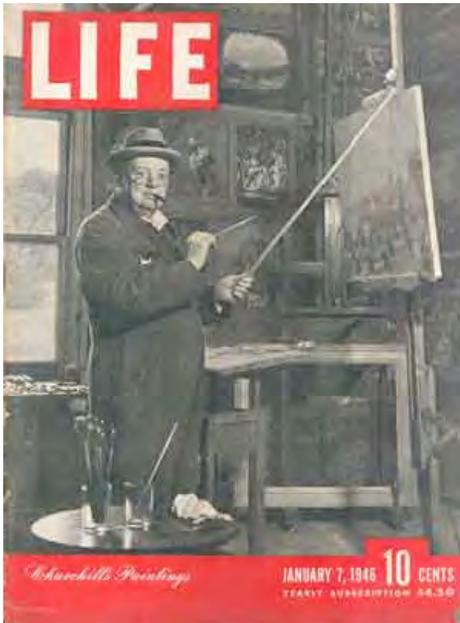
not a smaller war. So I hope once the President vetoes it, we will understand that this new general with a new strategy is our best chance for success ...

The only people I know of right now who seem to believe walking away from the fight in Iraq doesn't have severe consequences for the world are the ones in this body. I cannot envision a failed state in Iraq leading to a more secure United States. I cannot envision walking away from Iraq, declaring the war lost, not empowering al-Qaida beyond any other single event that we have engaged in since 9/11. The consequences of destroying General Petraeus's chance to be successful are enormous for the national security interests of this country.

Declaring a war lost by the Senate majority leader is unprecedented, ill-advised, and it is something we need to quickly correct because if we have lost, the people who will claim victory are our worst nightmare. We will be sending young men and women back to the Middle East to fight extremism in other countries as far as the eye can see or we can give this new general a chance to be successful, give him the time, the money, and the resources he needs to be successful, honor each death as a noble sacrifice for the cause of our freedom—for our own freedom, for the alignment of moderation against extremism—or we can let the car bomber and the suicide bomber drive us out of Iraq . We can let them dictate our foreign policy.

If we do that, we can come back home thinking we are safe, but we will have unleashed Pandora's box. The Gulf States are next if we lose in Iraq, and then eventually Israel. The consequences to our national security interests could not be greater.

Americans understood what it was like to live without freedom 200 years ago. That is why they died for it. There are people in the Mideast getting a taste of it. Let's side with those who believe in freedom against those who want to take us to the dark ages.



AMERICANS ARE LOSING THE VICTORY IN EUROPE

DESTITUTE NATIONS FEEL THAT THE U. S. HAS FAILED THEM

by JOHN DOS PASSOS

Novelist John Dos Passos spent three months in Europe as a correspondent for LIFE, which recently printed his report on the Nürnberg trials. Just back in the U. S., Author Dos Passos here sums up his impressions of the Continent.

We are in a cabin deep down below decks on a Navy ship jam-packed with troops that's pitching and creaking its way across the Atlantic in a winter gale. There is a man in every bunk. There's a man wedged into every corner. There's a man in every chair. The air is dense with cigarette smoke and with the staleness of packed troops and sour wool.

"Don't think I'm sticking up for the Germans," puts in the lanky young captain in the upper berth, "but..."

"To hell with the Germans," says the broad-shouldered dark lieutenant. "It's what our boys have been doing that worries me."

The lieutenant has been talking about the traffic in Army property, the leaking of gasoline into the black market in France and Belgium even while the fighting was going on, the way the Army kicks the civilians around, the looting.

"Lust, liquor and loot are the soldier's pay," interrupts a red-faced major.

The lieutenant comes out with his conclusion: "Two wrongs don't make a right." You hear these two phrases again and again in about every bull session on the ship. "Two wrongs don't make a right" and "Don't think I'm sticking up for the Germans, but..."

The troops returning home are worried. "We've lost the peace," men tell you. "We can't make it stick."

A tour of the beaten-up cities of Europe six months after victory is a mighty sobering experience for anyone. Europeans. Friend and foe alike, look you accusingly in the face and tell you how bitterly they are disappointed in you as an American. They cite the evolution of the word "liberation." Before the Normandy landings it meant to be freed from the tyranny of the Nazis. Now it stands in the minds of the civilians for one thing, looting.

You try to explain to these Europeans that they expected too much. They answer that they had a right to, that after the last was America was the hope of the world. They talk about the Hoover relief, the work of the Quakers, the speeches of Woodrow Wilson. They don't blame us for the fading of that hope. But they blame us now.

Never has American prestige in Europe been lower. People never tire of telling you of the ignorance and rowdy-ism of American troops, of our misunderstanding of European conditions. They say that the theft and sale of Army supplies by our troops is the basis of their black market. They blame us for the corruption and disorganization of UNRRA. They blame us for the fumbling timidity of our negotiations with the Soviet Union. They tell us that our mechanical de-nazification policy in Germany is producing results opposite to those we planned. "Have you no statesmen in America?" they ask.

The skeptical French press

Yet whenever we show a trace of positive leadership I found Europeans quite willing to follow our lead. The evening before Robert Jackson's opening of the case for the prosecution in the Nürnberg trial, I talked to some correspondents from the French newspapers. They were polite but skeptical. They were willing enough

to take part in a highly publicized act of vengeance against the enemy, but when you talked about the usefulness of writing a prohibition of aggressive war into the law of nations they laughed in your face. The night after Jackson's nobly delivered and nobly worded speech I saw them all again. They were very much impressed. Their manner had even changed toward me personally as an American. Their sudden enthusiasm seemed to me typical of the almost neurotic craving for leadership of the European people struggling wearily for existence in the wintry ruins of their world.

The ruin this war has left in Europe can hardly be exaggerated. I can remember the years after the last war. Then, as soon as you got away from the military, all the little strands and pulleys that form the fabric of a society were still knitted together. Farmers took their crops to market. Money was a valid medium of exchange. Now the entire fabric of a million little routines has broken down. No one can think beyond food for today. Money is worthless. Cigarettes are used as a kind of lunatic travesty on a currency. If a man goes out to work he shops around to find the business that serves the best hot meal. The final pay-off is the situation reported from the Ruhr where the miners are fed at the pits so that they will not be able to take the food home to their families.

"Well, the Germans are to blame. Let them pay for it. It's their fault," you say. The trouble is that starving the Germans and throwing them out of their homes is only producing more areas of famine and collapse.

One section of the population of Europe looked to us for salvation and another looked to the Soviet Union. Wherever the people have endured either the American armies or the Russian armies both hopes have been bitterly disappointed. The British have won a slightly better reputation. The state of mind in Vienna is interesting because there the part of the population that was not actively Nazi was about equally divided. The wealthier classes looked to America, the workers to the Soviet Union.

The Russians came first. The Viennese tell you of the savagery of the Russian armies. They came like the ancient Mongol hordes out of the steppes, with the flimsiest supply. The people in the working-class districts had felt that when the Russians came that they at least would be spared. But not at all. In the working-class districts the troops were allowed to rape and murder and loot at will. When victims complained, the Russians answered, "You are too well off to be workers. You are bourgeoisie."

When Americans looted they took cameras and valuables but when the Russians looted they took everything. And they raped and killed. From the eastern frontiers a tide of refugees is seeping across Europe bringing a nightmare tale of helpless populations trampled underfoot. When the British and American came the Viennese felt that at last they were in the hands of civilized people. But instead of coming in with a bold plan of relief and reconstruction we came in full of evasions and apologies.

U.S. administration a poor third

We know now the tragic results of the ineptitudes of the Peace of Versailles. The European system it set up was Utopia compared to the present tangle of snarling misery. The Russians at least are carrying out a logical plan for extending their system of control at whatever cost. The British show signs of recovering their good sense and their innate human decency. All we have brought to Europe so far is confusion backed up by a drumhead regime of military courts. We have swept away Hitlerism, but a great many Europeans feel that the cure has been worse than the disease. [Emphasis mine]

The taste of victory had gone sour in the mouth of every thoughtful American I met. Thoughtful men can't help remembering that this is a period in history when every political crime and every frivolous mistake in statesmanship has been paid for by the death of innocent people. The Germans built the Stalags; the Nazis are behind barbed wire now, but who will be next? Whenever you sit eating a good meal in the midst of a starving city in a handsome house requisitioned from some German, you find yourself wondering how it would feel to have a conqueror drinking out of your glasses. When you hear the tales of the brutalizing of women from the eastern frontier you think with a shudder of those you love and cherish at home.

That we are one world is unfortunately a brutal truth. Punishing the German people indiscriminately for the sins of their leader may be justice, but it is not helping to restore the rule of civilization. The terrible lesson of the events of this year of victory is that what is happening to the bulk of Europe today can happen to American tomorrow.

In America we are still rich, we are still free to move from place to place and to talk to our friends without fear of the secret police. The time has come, for our own future security, to give the best we have to the world instead of the worst. So far as Europe is concerned, American leadership up to now has been obsessed with a fear of our own virtues. Winston Churchill expressed this state of mind brilliantly in a speech to his own people which applies even more accurately to the people of the U.S. "You must be prepared," he warned them, "for further efforts of mind and body and further sacrifices to great causes, if you are not to fall back into the rut of inertia, the confusion of aim and the craven fear of being great."

IRAQ

A Comprehensive Resource

Tab II: Modest Signs of Progress Continue to Grow in Iraq

- Operation Iraqi Freedom: Freedom Facts
- Gen. Petraeus on progress in Iraq
- White House: "America and our allies are working together to keep our nations safe"
- Department of State: "Iraq weekly progress report highlights"
- US Government (various agencies): Iraq relief and reconstruction total program chart
- Operation Iraqi Freedom: "Tearing Down al-Qaida in Iraq" (list of captured/killed terrorists)
- Sen. Bond memo on recent successes in Iraq
- News stories:
 - Washington Times: "Covering the War"
 - Weekly Standard: "Fighting to Win: Now is hardly the time to end our support and abandon our Iraqi allies"
 - Weekly Standard: "On Democracy in Iraq: It's starting to take root"
 - Weekly Standard: "Can Petraeus Pull It Off? A report on the progress of our arms in Baghdad, Baqubah, Ramadi, and Falluja"
 - Weekly Standard: "Friends, Enemies and Spoilers: Two months in, the consequences of the surge"
 - Chicago Tribune: "Al Qaeda's New Enemy"
 - New York Times: "Plan B? Let's Give Plan A Some Time First"

OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM

Official Website of Multi-National Force – Iraq

http://www.mnf-iraq.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=category§ionid=5&id=17&Itemid=32

FREEDOM FACTS

Quality of Life

More Iraqis own cars, air conditioners, cell phones and satellite dishes than ever before. Demand for electricity has doubled since 2003.

Schools

The USG has rehabilitated 32% of Iraq's schools, for a total of 4,544 schools. In 2006, education opportunities improved for Iraqis with 838 of 849 schools completed. Each completed school serves approximately 400 students for a total of 335,200 students nationwide.

GDP

Per capita Gross Domestic Product, according to estimates by the International Monetary Fund, has grown in the past three years from \$949 in 2004 to an estimated \$1,237 in 2005 to \$1,900 in 2006 which exceeded the projected \$1,635.

Electricity

Under the former regime, Baghdad got 24 hours of free electricity daily, while large parts of the rest of the country received none. By the end of 2006, the U.S. Corps Army of Engineers' Gulf Region Division had started 520 electricity-related projects and completed 220 of them. The area outside of Baghdad now averages some 12-14 hours of power per day.

Women in Parliament

Women comprise 25% of the Iraqi Parliament, which is the highest proportion in the Arab world and one of the largest percentages worldwide.

Iraqi Security Forces growth

In the period between March 2005 and March 2006, the Iraqi Security Forces almost doubled in size. Since 2003, 258 Border facilities, 309 police stations, 14 academies and branch schools, 26 unit headquarters, and 67 fire stations have been built or rehabilitated.

Medical Care

In 2006, medical care improved in Iraq with the renovation of 15 hospitals. Each completed facility sees approximately 500 patients per day for a total of 11,000 patients nationwide. More than \$33 million of new medical equipment has been distributed to the Iraqi Ministry of Health to replace dangerously outdated instruments in hospitals and clinics throughout Iraq.

Roads

In Iraq, approximately 270 km of village roads have been completed. These projects are directly contracted with local firms and assist in the economic development of smaller communities. The Village Roads program is expected to be completed in July 2007 and will provide 424 km of improved roads.

GEN. PETRAEUS ON PROGRESS IN IRAQ

April 25 and 26, 2007

After An Extensive Review, President Bush Ordered A New Strategy In Iraq And Appointed General David Petraeus To Carry That Strategy Out. This new strategy recognizes that our top priority must be to help the Iraqi government secure its capital so they can make political and economic progress. The Iraqis cannot yet do this on their own, so the President ordered reinforcements to help Iraqis secure their population, go after those inciting sectarian violence, and get their capital under control.

This Strategy Is Still In Its Early Stages, Yet At This Early Hour, We Are Seeing Some Signs That Give Us Hope. Some of the reinforcements General Petraeus requested have not yet arrived in Baghdad, and he believes it will take months before we can accurately gauge the strategy's potential for success. Yet at this early hour:

- Coalition forces have captured a number of key terrorist leaders who are providing information about how al-Qaeda operates in Iraq.
- Coalition forces have stopped a car bomb network, which had killed many citizens of Baghdad, and they have destroyed major car bomb factories.
- Killing of the security emir of al Qaeda Iraq in eastern Anbar province.
- Detention of Qazali network individuals (secret cells of the Shi'a extremist network)
- Detention of the Shavani network head in Iraq (the network inside Iraq bringing in explosively formed projectiles from Iran)
- There has been a reduction in sectarian murders in Baghdad, which is about one-third now of what it was in January.
- In some areas of the capital, Iraqis are returning to their neighborhoods with an increased feeling of security.

There is also progress in Anbar province:

- Anbar has gone “from being assessed as being lost, to a situation that now is quite heartening because of the decision by a number of Sunni Arab tribes to join the fight against al Qaeda, saying no more -- they've had it -- and linking arms with the coalition to take on al Qaeda and one city after another really cleaning them out.”
- “As I pointed out to each of the respective bodies -- the House and the Senate -- there still is considerable work to be done in Anbar Province although all the trends are in the right direction.”

America And Our Allies Are Working Together To Keep Our Nations Safe

President Bush Thanks Allies At CENTCOM Coalition Conference For Dedication To Cause Of Freedom

Today, President Bush Addressed The CENTCOM Coalition Conference At MacDill Air Force Base In Tampa, Florida.

America is joined in the fight against terrorists by more than 90 nations, including every country represented in the CENTCOM Coalition. The work of these countries has helped liberate millions of people, has kept brutal enemies on the defensive, and has helped keep millions of our citizens safe.

- **Currently, 64 Nations Have Military Representatives Assigned To The CENTCOM Headquarters.** CENTCOM is one of nine Defense Department Unified Combatant Commands assigned operational control of U.S. combat forces. Its area of responsibility includes Iraq and Afghanistan as well as: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Iran, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Yemen, and the northwestern Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea, and Arabian Gulf.

America And Our Allies Are Working Together To Address The Dangers Of Our Time

An Era Of New Threats Requires New Forms Of Engagement, So We Have Reinvigorated Historic Alliances, Such As NATO, And Formed New And Dynamic Coalitions To Address The Dangers Of Our Time. Our broad Coalition has protected millions of people. We have worked to stop the spread of dangerous weapons, and we have taken the fight to the enemy where they live, so we do not have to face them where we live.

- **Working Together, America And Our Allies Have Shared Intelligence That Has Helped Thwart Many Terrorist Plots.**
 - We uncovered and stopped terrorist conspiracies targeting embassies in Yemen and Singapore and ships in the Straits of Hormuz and Gibraltar.
 - We stopped a Southeast Asian terror cell grooming operatives for terrorist attacks and an al-Qaeda cell seeking to develop anthrax.
 - British authorities disrupted a plot to blow up aircraft flying over the Atlantic toward the United States.
- **Coalition Forces Have Captured Or Killed Key Leaders Of Terrorist Networks.**
 - Philippine forces killed top leaders of an al-Qaeda affiliate.
 - Spanish police captured fugitives wanted in connection with the Madrid train bombings.
 - Terrorist cells have been broken up by countries including Britain, Canada, Denmark, Italy, France, Indonesia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Turkey.
- **America And Our Allies Have Shut Down Funding Channels And Frozen Terrorist Assets, Making It Harder For Our Enemies To Finance Attacks, Purchase Weapons, And Train Recruits.** The international community through the United Nations has imposed measures to identify terrorist financiers and prevent them from using international financial systems to fund acts of terror.
- **America And Our Allies Are Training Local Forces To Conduct Counterterrorism Activities In Their Own Regions.**
 - We are helping key nations – including Indonesia, the Philippines, and Yemen – stop terrorists from establishing safe havens inside their borders.
 - The Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership provides counterterrorism and military assistance to Chad, Mali, Niger, Mauritania, Algeria, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, and Tunisia.
 - The East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative provides border security and police training to Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Tanzania, and Uganda.
- **Our Coalition Is Taking Steps To Stop Terrorists From Obtaining The World's Most Dangerous Weapons.** More than 80 nations have joined the Proliferation Security Initiative and are working to stop shipments of materials related to weapons of mass destruction on land, at sea, and in the air.

- **America And Other Nations Have Acted Boldly To Confront Adversaries Who Threatened International Security.** In Afghanistan, Coalition forces drove the Taliban from power, removed al-Qaeda training camps, and helped bring freedom to 25 million people.

Our Coalition Is Going On The Offense Against The Taliban And Its Al-Qaeda Allies In Afghanistan

Since Their Liberation, The Afghan People Have Made Enormous Strides. Afghans chose the first democratically-elected President in their history and held free elections for a National Assembly. The Afghan economy has doubled in size, and more than 4.6 million Afghan refugees have come home in one of the largest return movements in history.

The Taliban And Its Al-Qaeda Allies Are Actively Working To Undermine This Progress And Reclaim Power, And Our Coalition – Led By NATO – Is Going On The Offense Against Them. Coalition and Afghan forces have conducted dozens of operations over the past few months to go after the enemy in their strongholds, including an operation launched this week targeting the Taliban in Helmand Province in the South. We have seized dozens of caches of weapons, ammunition, and improvised explosive devices, and we are making progress in training the growing Afghan National Army.

- **At Least 20 Other Nations Are Supporting Efforts To Rebuild Afghanistan.** The United States appreciates these contributions, and we will stand with our partners and the Afghan people until our work is done.

We Are Also Committed To Winning The Fight In Iraq

After An Extensive Review, President Bush Ordered A New Strategy In Iraq And Appointed General David Petraeus To Carry That Strategy Out. This new strategy recognizes that our top priority must be to help the Iraqi government secure its capital so they can make political and economic progress. The Iraqis cannot yet do this on their own, so the President ordered reinforcements to help Iraqis secure their population, go after those inciting sectarian violence, and get their capital under control.

- **This Strategy Is Still In Its Early Stages, Yet At This Early Hour, We Are Seeing Some Signs That Give Us Hope.** Some of the reinforcements General Petraeus requested have not yet arrived in Baghdad, and he believes it will take months before we can accurately gauge the strategy's potential for success. Yet at this early hour:
- Coalition forces have captured a number of key terrorist leaders who are providing information about how al-Qaeda operates in Iraq.
 - Coalition forces have stopped a car bomb network, which had killed many citizens of Baghdad, and they have destroyed major car bomb factories.
 - There has been a decline in sectarian violence.
 - In some areas of the capital, Iraqis are returning to their neighborhoods with an increased feeling of security.
- **Success In Iraq Is Critical To The Security Of Free People Everywhere.** Terrorists continue to unleash horrific acts of violence in Iraq, and al-Qaeda is playing a major role. Last week, General Petraeus called al-Qaeda "probably public enemy number one" in Iraq and said that al-Qaeda has made Iraq "the central front of their global campaign."

America Is Deeply Grateful For The Contributions Of Nations Supporting Operations In Iraq. Today, more than 30 nations are supporting operations in Iraq. Seventeen NATO nations have contributed forces or been part of the NATO Training Mission to help train Iraqis, and Georgia also recently decided to contribute 2,000 troops. America joins in honoring the Coalition troops who have been killed in Iraq and the others who have been wounded in combat.

America Is Also Grateful For The Increasing Contributions International Organizations Are Making To Iraq's Stability.

- On May 3, the United Nations will host a conference in Egypt to sign an International Compact for Iraq. This agreement will bring new economic assistance in exchange for greater economic reform in Iraq.
- On May 4, Iraq's neighbors will meet to discuss ways to promote political reconciliation in Iraq. These meetings will be attended by Secretary Rice and senior officials from the G-8 nations. Iran and Syria have been invited to attend.



Highlights

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1. **Defeat the Terrorists and Neutralize the Insurgents**

According to numbers compiled by the Iraqi Interior, Defense, and Health ministries, violence against Iraqi civilians dropped nearly 20% in April with 1,506 civilians killed, down from 1,861 in March. The drop is largely attributable to the ongoing Operation Fardh al-Qanun and the increased security operations aimed to reduce sectarian violence in the capital and surrounding areas.

2. **Transition Iraq to Security Self-Reliance**

For the week ending April 21, the Iraqi Police Service graduated 41 police from specialized and advanced training courses including the following: "First Line Supervision," "Advanced Interview and Interrogation," and "Intelligence Analyst Training."

3. **Help Iraqis to Forge a National Compact for Democratic Government**

The largest bloc of Sunni Arabs in the Iraqi parliament threatened to withdraw its ministers from the Shia-dominated Cabinet in frustration over the Iraqi government's failure to deal with Sunni concerns. President Bush called one of Iraq's two vice presidents, Tariq al-Hashimi, a Sunni Arab, and invited him to Washington in an attempt to forestall the withdrawal. The bloc, known as the Iraqi Accord Front (Tawafuq) and made up of three Sunni Arab parties, claimed in a statement that they have "lost hope in rectifying the situation despite all of its sincere and serious efforts to do so."

4. **Help Iraq Build Government Capacity and Provide Essential Services**

The U.S. Army-funded construction of the supply al-Sura water compact unit in Ramadi, al-Anbar province has been completed, providing treated, clean, and potable water to it's 24,000 local residents.

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5. **Help Iraq Strengthen Its Economy**

Speaking in Najaf, Ali Larijani, Secretary of Iran's Supreme National Council, announced that his country has earmarked \$1 billion in credits for Iraqi projects and pledged support for Iraqi reconstruction.

6. **Help Iraq Strengthen the Rule of Law**

The Central Criminal Court of Iraq convicted 41 individuals April 1-14 for violations of the Iraqi Terrorist Law, Penal Code, and Coalition Provisional Authority Orders enforced by the Iraqi judiciary.

7. **International Support for Iraq**

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon will co-launch with Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki the International Compact with Iraq in Sharm al-Shaik, Egypt May 3. The International Compact with Iraq is a five-year national plan that includes benchmarks and mutual commitments from both Iraq and the international community, all with the aim of helping Iraq on the path towards peace, sound governance and economic reconstruction.

8. **Strengthen Public Understanding of Coalition Efforts and Public Isolation of the Insurgents**

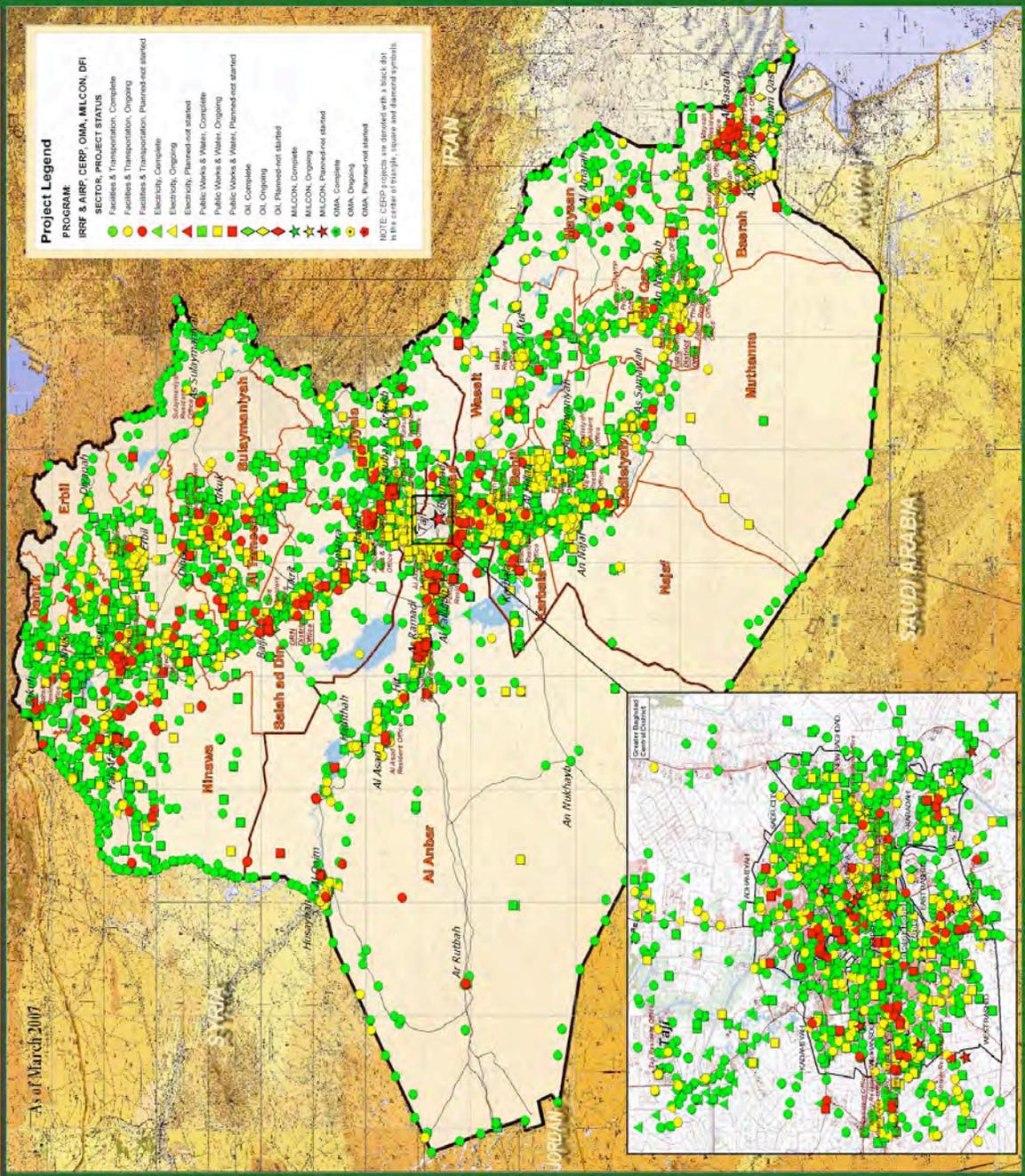
Amal Mudarris, 58, survived an assassination attempt April 29. The Baghdad radio veteran suffered serious head injuries when she was shot several times outside her Baghdad home the morning of April 29. Doctors said later in the day that her condition had stabilized and she was expected to recover.

IRAQ RELIEF & RECONSTRUCTION TOTAL PROGRAM

ACRONYMS AND FUNDING

CERP: Commander's Emergency Response Program	\$1,986,000,000
DFI & AIRP: Development Fund for Iraq & Accelerated Iraq Reconstruction Program	\$1,337,200,000
IRRF 1 & IRRF 2: Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund	\$20,914,000,000
MILCON: Military Construction	\$941,600,000
OMAU: Operations and Maintenance - Army	\$250,100,000
ISFF: Iraq Security Forces Fund	\$10,098,000,000
ESF: Economic Support Fund	\$1,695,390,000
NOTE: Includes construction & non-construction programs	\$37,122,290,000

CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS	TOTAL
IRRF	5621
Complete	4995
Under Construction	567
Planned-not started	59
DFI & AIRP	547
Complete	520
Under Construction	27
Planned-not started	0
CERP	6829
Complete	5620
Under Construction	914
Planned-not started	295
ISFF	470
Complete	202
Under Construction	232
Planned-not started	36
ESF	287
Complete	0
Under Construction	5
Planned-not started	282
OMA	374
Complete	331
Under Construction	36
Planned-not started	7
MILCON	147
Complete	76
Under Construction	44
Planned-not started	27
Total	14,275



14,275 Projects = Over \$35 Billion
(Including over \$10B for training & equipping Iraq Security Forces)



OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM

Official Website of Multi-National Force – Iraq

<http://www.mnf-iraq.com/>

Tearing Down al-Qaida in Iraq

Coalition and Iraqi Security Forces continue to work closely in going after al-Qaida in Iraq. As President Bush said Nov. 30, al-Qaida in Iraq continues to cause sectarian strife and division amongst the Iraqi people. They do this through sensational attacks causing large civilian casualties. They also do it through intimidation, murders, and executions. ... The more we can bring down al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations, the greater probability of reducing violence. – Maj. Gen. William B. Caldwell IV, spokesman, MNF – Iraq

“The problem in Iraq is there are terrorist groups which kill all Iraqi military, Sunnis, Shi’as, and all Iraqis are facing this flagrant aggression by terrorists. As you know, al-Qaida network consider Shi’as takfiris and consider Sunnis who take part in the political process as khawarjj, ant-Islam, and the Kurds are as traitors. So all Iraqis are facing a terrorist group which wants to kill as much Iraqis as they can, to plant sectarian sedition. But in fact, the Iraqis greatly resist these attempts to – which aim to break the relation between Iraqis.” – Dr. Ali al Dabbagh, spokesman, GOI

This list represents the hard work and dedication put forth by Iraqi Security Forces and the Coalition, as they work together to bring terrorists to justice and stability to Iraq. In this list, there are killed and detained al-Qaida terrorists. This list provides clear evidence of the systematic dismantling of the AQI network by Iraqi Security Forces and the Coalition Force.

Level 1: Close Associates of Abu Ayyub al Masri (AAM)

- Umar Faruq – Long-time AQ Operative, to include involvement in the planning of the Bali Nightclub Bombing in Indonesia – Killed during a raid in Basra, Iraq, 25 SEP 2006

Level 2: AQI Emirs and Some Direct Contact with AAM

- Abu Taha – Sajariyyah Emir and Senior AXIZ in the Ramadi area – Killed
- ’Uday ’Aziz ’Akif Hamad al-’Ani AKA ((Abu Fatimah)) – Personal Message Courier and Foreign Fighter Facilitator Liaison
- Aku Muhammad Hasan ’Ali ((Zangana)) AKA ((Abu Shawarib; Shihab)) – Foreign Fighter Facilitator from Iran to Iraq
- Ghazi Husayn Khamis Frayyih ((al-’Azzawi)) AKA ((Abu Ahmed)) – AQ Finance Emir for Salah al-Din
- Abd-al-Karim Ibrahim Nhayyir Mahdi ((al-Hashimi)) – Member of Jaysh al Iraq –admitted to meeting with Anti-CF group members to discuss a merger; tasked with procuring weapons for the group; admitted to knowing about planned attacks against CF in Baghdad during Ramadan; involved in two kidnappings – Captured
- Sattar ’Ayyash Majid Hammad ((al-Salmani)) AKA Abu Muhammad – AQIZ Emir of Habiniyah – admitted to participating in attacks against CF that resulted in the death of CF members; admitted to associations with numerous weapons facilitators, FFF, financial facilitators, and housing FF and transferring funds into IZ
- Khalid Jihad Muhammad Yunis ((Zubaydi)) AKA Sami – AQIZ chief of security for northern IZ; killer of Mosul police officer

- Da'ud Salman Jasim Jamil AKA ((Abu Khattab)) – AAM's driver, personal confidant, and facilitator – anyone wanting to meet with AAM had to contact him
- Mu'adh Nuri 'Ali Fahad AKA ((Tha'ir)) ((al 'Ani)) ((al Badrani)) – Replaced Abu Khattab as AAM's driver, personal confidant, and facilitator – anyone wanting to meet with AAM had to contact him; prior to assuming these duties, he was a cell leader within AAM's Special Operations Group in Baghdad; was in charge of an assassination
- Dhanun Ahmad Mahmud Ahmad ((al-'Ugaydi)) AKA ((Abu Yunis)) – One of Mosul's most wanted individuals – Gatekeeper for the Leader of Mosul, Weapons Facilitator in Northern Iraq; involved with VBIED attacks on Iraqis and CFs; link between Mosul and Baghdad AQIZ leaders; weapons facilitator – Captured
- Dilyar Khukr 'Ali Qasim ((al-Dawudi)) AKA ((Abu Shaybah)) – Kurdish extremist facilitator and explosive expert with extensive ties to AQSL outside of IZ; produced suicide vests, IEDs, SVBIEDs and remote control detonation devices to be used in IZ
- Ribwar 'Ali Huysayn Ahmad Abd-al-Karim ((Jaf)) AKA ((IDRIS)) – Senior level courier between AAM and other Senior AQIZ leaders
- Kamal Jalil Bakr 'Uthman ((al-Turkmani)) AKA ((Sa'id Hamza)) – Chief of Military Operations in Mosul
- Khalil Ibrahim Mukhaylif 'Abbas ((al-'Uwaysi)) AKA ((Abu Muhammad al-Ramadi)) – Senior Iraq-based AAS leader; involved with a proposed merger between AQIZ and AAS
- Fahad Ma'di Ahmad Hamdan al-Shahri AKA ((Abu Nassir)) – Saudi Arabian AQ member and FFF; dealing specifically in the smuggling of Saudi Arabian suicide bombers; has previously fought in Afghanistan and Chechnya; left KSA illegally and traveled to Iraq; was a FF and has been involved in AQ since 1994; has been associated with personalities involved in the attacks on the World Trade Center, the USS Cole, the Khobar Towers, and attacks in Saudi Arabia
- Khalid 'Abdallah Ahmad Fadil Albu Faraj (AKA: Abu Zayd, Abu 'Ali, Abu Muhammad, Husayn 'Ali Muhammad, 'Awwad al-Fahadawi) – Member of Mujahidin Shura Council; commanded two companies, each of which had two platoons; also commanded one anti-aircraft platoon, one mortar platoon, and one IED platoon
- Hamzah Ahmad Jasim Ibrahim ((al-'Ugaydi)) AKA ((Abu Ala, Abu Sayf)) – Reported to be the Media Emir of Karkh; worked as an operational planner for the operational cells conducting attacks in the Greater Baghdad area
- Mahdi Muhammad 'Abbas Jasim ((al-Shammari)) AKA ((Abu Shayma)) – Military Emir of Arab Jabur; involved in numerous VBIED and SVBIEDs attacks throughout Southern and Western Baghdad
- Saddam 'Ayal 'Awwad 'Awd ((al-Juburi)) AKA ((Saddam 'Ayal)) – Cell leader in Arab Jabur, involved in numerous VBIED and SVBIEDs attacks throughout Southern and Western Baghdad; linked to kidnapping of Iraqi nationals
- Fawzi Rashid Ahmad Hasan ((al-Juburi)) AKA ((Fawzi Chelub)) – Military Emir of Northern Baghdad, involved in numerous VBIED and SVBIEDs attacks throughout Southern and Western Baghdad; nephew of Abu Salih who was AMZ's religious adviser

Level 3: AQI Cell Leaders, Facilitators, and Functional Emirs

- Muhammad Abdallah Jasim Ahmad ((al-Zubaydi)) – AQIZ chief of finance for Northern IZ; associated with several other AQIZ personalities in the Mosul area – Captured 1 OCT 06
- Abdallah Khalil Hamid Afan ((al-Nimrawi)) AKA Abu Rahmah, Abu Yusif – AQIZ cell leader in Bayji area utilizing FF; admitted to associations with other AQIZ in the area – Captured 4 AUG 06

- Rafid Fahad Abbud Muhammad ((al-Nasiri)) AKA Abu Malak, Abu Fahad – AQIZ Military Emir in Bayji; tied to other AQIZ personalities, weapons locations, and ACF attack sites; implicated as being involved in mujahidin activities and attempting to recruit another detainee – Captured 10 AUG 06
- Ra'ad Zuhayyir Umar Najm ((al-Nasiri)) AKA Abu Hanin, Abu Mu'min – AQIZ Emir in both Mosul and Bayji; voting member of the Bayji Mujahidin Shura Council; vehicle at the point of capture appeared to be in the process of being converted into a VBIED – Captured 23 AUG 06
- Alwan Muhammad Musa Ali ((al-Juburi)) AKA Abu Sulayman – AQIZ Emir in Tikrit or Bayji – Captured 14 AUG 06
- Ghazi Ahmad Sharmut Mubarak Abu Ali Jasim ((al-Dulaymi)) AKA Abu Bakr – AQIZ cell leader; involved in the attack on a Ramadi police station; implicated in IED attacks, assassinations, kidnapping, FFF, financing operations, and attacks against CF and IP – Captured
- Yunis Wahab Khalil Ibrahim Albu-Daraj AKA Abu Muhammad – Key IED Emir in the Ar Ramadi area; recently returned from Syria where he reportedly was collecting money and training for IED operations; admitted to having a fraudulent passport and knowing the smuggling routes to and from Syria; suspected of knowing about the large weapons cache found near the detention location consisting of AK-47's, ammo, armor-piercing ammo, grenades, batteries, and oxygen tanks that were all destroyed on site – Captured 19 SEP 06
- Anas Dhiyab Shakir Mahmud al-Badri AKA Muhammad Salim Nayif AQIZ 'Ubaydi al-'Ubaydi – AQIZ cell leader in Samarra and brother-in-law to Haytham Sabah al-Badri (HSB); identified as being an active participant in the Golden Mosque bombing; grenades, det cord, and AK-47 modified with a drum magazine recovered at the point of detention – Captured 17 AUG 06
- Qadir Sa'id Majid Ibrahim al-Dawudi – Assessed to be an AQIZ Media Emir; claimed ownership for the computer that contained mujahidin propaganda; detained with the AAS Admin/Financial and Military Emirs in the Bayji area; schematics for IEDs and rockets were recovered at the point of detention – Captured 12 SEP 06
- Bassim Muhammed Hazzim al-Fahdawi AKA Abu Khattab, Ahmed Sabah, Haji, Abu Izadin, the Eagle of Ramadi, Criminal of Ramadi – Emir for a major AQIZ insurgent cell in the Ar Ramadi area that also controlled several other insurgent groups; responsible for a murder and intimidation campaign against IZ Police Forces; planned a large-scale assault against CF in Ar Ramadi; multiple IED attacks; the deaths of over 20 Iraq Guardsmen and civilians; destroyed the Azziziyah Police Station; destroyed the home of the Director of Al Anbar Oil Distribution Office and killed three Iraqi police officers in Ar Ramadi – Killed



Memorandum

From: Kit Bond

Date: May 8, 2007

RE: Recent Successes in Iraq

Dear Colleagues,

This past weekend I, along with Senators Chambliss and Snowe and Congressman Issa, traveled to Iraq. We visited Tikrit, Baghdad, Ramadi and Balad and had the opportunity to meet with the commanding officers in each location.

I was especially impressed with the recent successes in Ramadi and wanted to share with you some of these untold accomplishments. As you will see, we have al-Qa'ida on the run in Ramadi, an area that just six weeks ago some were claiming was lost forever. Attached you will find several briefing slides which General Gaskin in Ramadi briefed us on. As you will see, some of the highlights include:

- Attacks in Ramadi have decreased by 74% in the past three months.
- There have been 263 weapons cache discoveries in the past three months, a 192% increase.
- Over the past six weeks, daily attacks in Ramadi have dropped from an average of 20-25 a day to less than 3 per day.
- Last year, only two tribal areas were viewed as cooperative with U.S. forces and 17 were un-cooperative.
- Today, all 23 tribal areas in Ramadi are cooperating with U.S. forces to fight al-Qa'ida militants. There are no uncooperative tribes.
- Iraqis are now volunteering by the thousands to join local police and army forces. At the end of March, there were over 1,200 army recruits in just two days.
- The U.S. military was able to repair and re-open the largest mosque in Ramadi which had been closed since the start of the war. Hundreds of Iraqis were able to attend Friday services.
- The U.S. military has supplied and set up mosque speakers in Ramadi to broadcast security messages in addition to messages from the local Imams.

Washington Times

Covering the war

April 5, 2007

http://www.washtimes.com/op-ed/20070404-091441-4190r_page2.htm

Ask most Americans if they were aware that Iraqis, by almost a 2-to-1 margin, believe that life today is better than it was under Saddam Hussein, and you'd most likely elicit incredulousness, blank stares or outright laughter. Not because it isn't true, though. It is.

The mainstream media just forgot to mention it. ...

Weekly Standard

Fighting to Win: Now is hardly the time to end our support and abandon our Iraqi allies

April 23, 2007

<http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/013/511akepk.asp>

As Congress again takes up the issue of support for our troops fighting in Iraq, members should have the decency to take account of the successes those troops have fought for and achieved in recent weeks. Much of the support in the Democratic caucus for cutting off funds for Iraq comes from a conviction that the war is irretrievably lost. One could be excused for thinking that in the fall of 2006, when sectarian violence seemed to be cycling out of control against the backdrop of a wrong-headed U.S. strategy. But President Bush has adopted a new strategy, put in place a new command team, and provided new resources for the effort, and the situation has begun to improve. Failure remains possible, as it always does in war, but the possibility of victory has grown significantly. Prospects for success are brightest, moreover, in the struggle against al Qaeda—the challenge that many opponents of the war claim is America's only interest in Iraq. It would be the height of folly to cut off support for the war effort just as it is beginning to show glimmers of hope in a struggle central to the safety of all Americans.

There is no question that Iraq has become the central front for al Qaeda in the world today. ...

Al Qaeda fighters flow into Iraq because we are there, to be sure. But they do not confine themselves to fighting us. They also work to establish control over the Sunni regions in Iraq, to impose their version of Islam, and to terrorize and punish Iraqis who resist them in any way. When the Soviet Union left Afghanistan in abject defeat, the radical Islamists who had fought them did not lay down their guns. They undermined and destroyed the Afghan government and went on to seize power. Al Qaeda in Iraq aims for no less. They will not stop fighting when we leave; they will redouble their efforts to take control of the country. ...

Across Iraq, Sunnis and Shiites are coming to recognize that al Qaeda is an enemy that is worse and more dangerous than any other, and that American and Iraqi government forces are their best potential allies. ... The Iraqi determination to continue that fight is strengthening. Now is hardly the time to end our support and abandon our Iraqi allies.

Critics of the war also argue that the Sunni insurgency is no longer the central problem in Iraq, that sectarian violence has become the greatest and most intractable challenge. Sunni-Shiite hatred is centuries old, we are told, and American troops should not be put between hostile factions engaged

in primordial violence that will spiral inevitably out of control. Facts on the ground do not support this conclusion. ...

These initial positive signs are only that—indicators that things are finally moving in the right direction. The challenges that face the American and Iraqi effort to restore stability are still daunting. ... We do ourselves a disservice by giving such prominence to these attacks, gruesome as they are. All they really mean is that the enemy is fighting back, as enemies do.

Americans have gotten into a bad habit of believing that the outcome of every war is predictable—that wars are either short, decisive, and victorious, like Desert Storm, or long, painful, and futile like Vietnam. The truth is that the outcome of most wars remains in doubt until they are very nearly over. Until late 1864, it looked as though the Union might well lose the Civil War. Within a year, Lincoln had triumphed. The conflict in Iraq is central to our foreign policy, indeed to our well-being. Surely we must keep fighting to win as long as victory remains possible. And it is possible, although not certain, that we will win in Iraq. Right now, the signs are more hopeful than they have been in many months. It would be a tragedy for America and for Iraq to abandon the fight just as the possibility of success began to emerge.

Weekly Standard

On Democracy in Iraq: It's starting to take root

April 30, 2007

<http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/013/552qsjit.asp>

Honest Democrats should admit that they are in a predicament: The electoral interests of their party are at odds with the interests of the country in Iraq. If the surge fails, the Democrats stand to gain enormously in 2008. A Republican could try to depict himself as the candidate best able to manage retreat from Mesopotamia, but such a Nixonian approach, given how lamely the Bush administration has handled much of the war, doesn't seem compelling. On the other hand, if the surge works, and the Sunni insurgency and sectarian strife no longer convulse Iraqi society, the odds of Senator John McCain—or another Republican—succeeding George W. Bush go up considerably. The entire Democratic field, however, could end up looking wrong, faint-hearted, and politically reckless.

We highlight this Democratic contradiction since the party's character is being put to the test, as we see whether General David Petraeus's counterinsurgency tactics, which will seriously kick into gear in June, can rescue Baghdad and Anbar and Diyala provinces from the precipice. We don't know if General Petraeus at this late date can reverse the bloody dynamic that has developed in the Iraqi Sunni, Shiite, and Kurdish communities. But militarily the United States is finally waging a counterinsurgency that makes sense: We are focusing our efforts on securing Iraqi lives and property. Incrementally, in many quarters of Baghdad, daily life for Iraqis appears to be getting better.

And politically, Iraq is coming alive again. ...

And Senator Reid should take note: As a Shiite-led democracy grows, the calls for an American withdrawal will increase. Which is fine. Iraqi nationalism is vibrant among the Shiites, especially those who are religious. And democracy in Iraq, as elsewhere in the Muslim Middle East, is

unlikely to be particularly affectionate toward the United States. Iraqi democracy is much more likely to free American soldiers to go home than is chaos in Mesopotamia. ...

So the surge deserves to be supported. This is not the time for talk of timetables for withdrawal—much less talk of a war that is lost. It isn't inconsistent to scorch Bush for his failures—and still to argue that the American blood we will spill in Iraq in the surge is worth the possibility of success. Do thoughtful Democrats really believe that the Middle East, America's long fight against Sunni jihadism, and our standing in the world against potential aggressors and bullies will be improved by a precipitous and mandated departure from Mesopotamia? The Democratic party is beginning to sound like an echo chamber for Zbigniew Brzezinski, the national security adviser for the most inept and calamitous Democratic administration of modern times.

We, too, have benchmarks for Iraq. The surge needs to show real progress in providing security by the beginning of 2008. American and Iraqi forces in Baghdad will have to figure out a way to diminish significantly the number and lethality of Sunni suicide bombers. ...

If the U.S. military can change the reality and spirit of Baghdad, the rest of Iraq will change too. Contrary to the despair of so many, internal Iraqi politics will probably be the easiest part of this campaign. In the next few months, of course, things could go to hell. One suicide bomber killing the right Shiite VIPs could threaten all. Yet with Petraeus, Maliki, and Sistani in charge, things may work out. If they do, we can only hope that by the time they do, the leadership of the Democratic party will have ceased to have anything in common with those Sunni Arabs who have always wanted the new Iraq to fail.

Weekly Standard

Can Petraeus Pull It Off? A report on the progress of our arms in Baghdad, Baqubah, Ramadi, and Falluja

April 30, 2007

<http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/013/551cokdv.asp>

The news from Iraq is, as usual, grim. Bombings, more bombings, and yet more bombings—that's all the world notices. It's easy to conclude that all is chaos. That's not true. Some parts of Iraq are in bad shape, but others are improving. I spent the first two weeks of April in Baghdad, with side trips to Baqubah, Ramadi, and Falluja. Along the way I talked to everyone from privates to generals, both American and Iraqi. I found that, while we may not yet be winning the war, our prospects are at least not deteriorating precipitously, as they were last year. When General David Petraeus took command in February, he called the situation “hard” but not “hopeless.” Today there are some glimmers of hope in the unlikeliest of places.

Until recently Ramadi, the capital of Anbar province, was the most dangerous city in Iraq if not the world. ...

That began to change last year when the 1st Brigade Combat Team of the 1st Armored Division expanded the U.S. troop presence on the west side of town ...

Yet, for all the shortcomings of their government, Iraqi forces have begun to play a key role in Coalition operations, and nowhere more than in Ramadi. ...

The tribal forces are still too weak to defeat al Qaeda's ruthless fighters on their own (and probably always will be), but they have been of critical help in generating tips that aid Coalition forces. They are also now encouraging their sons to join the Iraqi police and army. Last year, few if any Sunnis were signing up. Now so many are eager to join that training facilities are swamped and there is a waiting list of recruits. ...

Yet, for all the difficulties that remain (and it would be a serious mistake to underestimate them), the overall trend in Anbar is positive. Startlingly so. ...

[M]ore and more patrols in Baghdad are now joint endeavors. One of the great achievements of recent months has been the willingness of Iraqi army formations to deploy to Baghdad with more than 85 percent of their strength. Many of these units, especially those composed primarily of Kurdish troops, have already proven highly effective.

Although Iraqi and American troops report to separate chains of command, great efforts are being made to coordinate their work—to achieve unity of effort if not unity of command. ...

Petraeus feels that he is making slow, steady progress against the myriad enemies that Coalition forces confront, but he is keenly aware that results may not come fast enough to please antiwar politicians back home who are eager to pull all U.S. troops out of Iraq, and damn the consequences. “The Washington clock is ticking faster than the Baghdad clock,” Petraeus often says. His goal is to speed up the Baghdad clock by pressing for more reconciliation between Sunnis and Shiites, and to slow down the Washington clock by showing gains on the ground that can reverse public pressure to pull U.S. troops out prematurely. The former is hard to do because of the mutual suspicions that grip this country. The latter is equally hard, because a few high-profile insurgent atrocities can obscure the progress being made by Coalition forces in stopping ethnic cleansing in Baghdad, which Petraeus views as his most important immediate goal.

Petraeus's ultimate objective, he told me over lunch at his embassy office, is to “achieve an outcome sustainable by the Iraqis.” Upon his assessment of Iraqi capabilities will rest his recommendation for when, how far, and how fast to draw down U.S. forces. Under consideration are various plans. The lower the number of American troops, the easier it is to sustain, politically and materially—but the greater the risk that the security situation will once again slide out of control as it did in 2006. ...

Can Iraqis come together quickly enough to save their country before domestic politics forces American troops to begin pulling out? That is the great unknown that Petraeus grapples with. During my visit I found cause for both optimism and despair.

Weekly Standard

Friends, Enemies and Spoilers: Two months in, the consequences of the surge

April 30, 2007

<http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/013/550bllyz.asp>

The new effort to establish security in Iraq has begun. At this early stage, the most important positive development is a rise in hostility to al Qaeda in the Sunni community. Al Qaeda has responded with its own “surge” in spectacular attacks, which so far has not revived support for the

terrorists or reignited sectarian violence. The Coalition has also made unexpectedly rapid progress in reducing the power of Moktada al-Sadr, including killing or capturing more than 700 members of his Mahdi Army. At the same time, the rhetoric of the Iraqi government has changed dramatically, and there are early indications of an increased willingness to attempt reconciliation among Iraq's Arabs. Meanwhile, some challenges are intensifying. Diyala province in particular poses serious problems that do not admit of easy or rapid solutions. On balance, there is reason for wary optimism.

President Bush announced the new strategy on January 10, and shortly thereafter named General David Petraeus overall commander of Coalition military forces in Iraq. His mission: establishing security for the Iraqi people and only secondarily transitioning to full Iraqi control and responsibility. ...

Major clear-and-hold operations are scheduled to begin in late May or June, and will take weeks to complete, area by area. After that, it may be many more weeks before their success at establishing security can be judged. General Petraeus has said he will offer an evaluation of progress in the fall. Even that evaluation, however, can only be preliminary. Changes in popular attitudes, insurgent capabilities, and the capacities of the Iraqi government and its armed forces take months, not weeks, to develop and manifest themselves. Premature judgments influenced by a week's headlines, whether positive or negative, are unwise.

Enemies and Spoilers

The United States and the government of Iraq are at war with a cluster of enemies: Al Qaeda in Iraq, affiliated Islamist groups, and determined Sunni insurgents who wish to overthrow the elected government. In addition, they face a number of "spoilers" who have played an extremely negative role so far and could derail progress if not properly managed: Shiite militias, criminal gangs, Iranian agents, and negative political forces within the Iraqi government. The distinction between enemies and spoilers is important. Enemies must be defeated; in the case of al Qaeda and other Islamists, that almost invariably means capturing or killing them. Spoilers must be managed. ...

Enemies and spoilers have responded to the Baghdad Security Plan in different ways. Al Qaeda and the other Islamist groups have increased their large-scale attacks, not only in Baghdad but also in Tal Afar, Mosul, Anbar, and Diyala. These groups rely on suicide bombings to attract international media attention and to create an exaggerated narrative of continuous violence throughout the country. They also hope to reignite the sectarian violence that raged through much of 2006. In this hope they have so far been disappointed. ...

Sectarian killings began to drop dramatically in January, and remain well below their December levels (although they are now somewhat higher than at the start of the current operations). The continuing terror campaign in Iraq is both tragic and worrisome, but it has not yet restarted the widespread sectarian conflict that was raging as recently as the end of last year. ...

In sum, key potential spoilers have chosen to support the current plan rather than to undermine it. The Iraqi government is fully committed rhetorically, and has been supporting the plan practically both by sending all of the requested military and police units and by agreeing to raids on Sunni and Shiite targets, as well as to the arrest and detention of both Sunni and Shiite leaders. ... At the

moment, the struggle against al Qaeda is far more central to the war in Iraq than sectarian violence—something that has not been true for many months.

Political Progress and Benchmarks

A final end to violence rests, of course, on bringing insurgents into the political fold in a way that the Shiites, including some Shiite radicals, can tolerate. It is too early to evaluate progress in this realm. Political compromise cannot take place in an atmosphere of high violence, and both sides need time to recover from the trauma of sectarian conflict before reconciliation will be possible.

There have been some developments worth mentioning, however. ...

One of the things that struck me most on my visit to Iraq from April 3 to April 8 was the growing Iraqi desire to exercise sovereignty. ...

The irony is that the more the Iraqi government feels its own strength—a very positive development from the standpoint of establishing a state that can survive on its own—the less it will be inclined to listen to our dictates about how to manage its internal affairs. Legislative or other benchmarks imposed as conditions of U.S. aid are likely to be seen increasingly as inappropriate interference and therefore not constructive. We have wanted Iraq to be independent from the outset, and we have worked hard to make Iraqi independence possible. We must accept the consequences, including the impossibility of dictating specific political solutions to Iraq's leaders.

Challenges and Dangers

Success in Iraq is not assured, and we face major challenges in some areas. Diyala province is a microcosm of almost all of Iraq's problems. Al Qaeda fighters driven out of Anbar and elsewhere have flowed into the province in the past few months and are now receiving Iranian aid. Sunnis driven out of Baghdad in 2006 moved to Diyala and drove many Shiites out of their homes. Shiites have retaliated with sectarian killings, sometimes with the support of provincial leaders. Kurdish forces have been pushing into the northern part of the province in support of historic claims to a greater Kurdish region within Iraq. All this unrest fuels, and has been fueled by, tribal conflict. And American forces are spread thin in the province (although Generals Odierno and Petraeus have sent reinforcements).

American and Iraqi forces are attacking some of these problems aggressively. ...

Can America succeed in Iraq? Definitely. Will we? It's too soon to say. The most that can be said now is that we seem to be turning a corner. In December 2006, we were losing, and most of the trends were bad. Today, many trends are positive, despite the daily toll of al Qaeda-sponsored death. That reversal resulted from our own actions, from enemy mistakes, and from positive decisions by potential spoilers. Our actions are proceeding in the right direction, as our forces work skillfully to establish order and support and assist reconstruction. The enemy is maintaining the same strategy that led to its difficulties in Anbar: ruthlessly attacking both Sunnis and Shiites in an effort to terrorize populations into tolerating its presence. And the key potential spoilers are holding to their vital decision to call for sectarian calm rather than sectarian war.

Americans have been subjected to too much hyperbole about this war from the outset. Excessively rosy scenarios have destroyed the credibility of the administration. The exaggerated certainty of leading war opponents that the conflict is already lost is every bit as misplaced. Too much optimism and too much pessimism have prevented Americans from accurately evaluating a complex and fluid situation. It is past time to abandon both and seek a clearheaded appraisal of reality in Iraq.

Today, victory is up for grabs, and the stakes for America are rising as the conflict between us and al Qaeda shifts to the fore. It is no hyperbole to recognize that a precipitous American withdrawal would undermine the current positive trends and increase the likelihood of mass killing and state collapse. Painful and uncertain as it is, the wisest course now is to support our commander and our soldiers and civilians, as they struggle to foster security in Iraq and to defeat the enemies who have sworn to destroy us.

Chicago Tribune
Al Qaeda's New Enemy
May 9, 2007

Al Qaeda's terrorists in Iraq now face a new enemy: Sunni tribesmen in Anbar Province. These tribal leaders in the heart of the insurgency are now backing coalition and Iraqi forces against the terrorists.

You want good news from Iraq? There it is, in flashing neon. ...

"There are some people who would say we've won the war out here," one Marine officer said.

That's a phrase you don't hear often in Iraq.

While the Sunni tribal leaders probably haven't developed a sudden fondness for U.S. forces, they have apparently developed a deep disgust for the Al Qaeda agenda. The Sunnis don't want what Al Qaeda is peddling: a soul-crushing fundamentalist Islamic dictatorship. ...

Many in Congress and across America will say any progress in Iraq is too little too late. They believe, as Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.) has said, that the war is lost.

But it is not. ...

Mustering more patience is a herculean effort for many Americans. But the surge strategy deserves a fair chance through the summer to work. Anbar suggests that a change in strategy can bring a welcome change in results.

Remember: Al Qaeda doesn't have a Plan B.

New York Times

Plan B? Let's Give Plan A Some Time First

May 6, 2007

http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/06/opinion/06kagan.html?_r=1&oref=slogin&pagewanted=print

One of the most common criticisms of the current “surge” in Iraq is that its proponents have not developed a Plan B in case it fails. The skeptics liken this lack of a backup strategy to the Bush administration’s failure to plan for various contingencies after the initial invasion in 2003; they see a continuity of errors between previous strategies in Iraq and the new one.

In fact, the debate shows only how little the critics of the war understand about military operations. ... [T]here is no Plan B because there cannot be one. The idea that there can be a single alternative strategy, developed now, just at the beginning of the surge, is antithetical to the dynamic nature of war. At this early stage, there are only possible general responses to various contingencies, which will become more focused as operations move forward.

The strategy now under way in Iraq—we are providing an increased number of American forces, working closely with Iraqi troops, to establish and maintain security in Baghdad as a precondition for political, economic and social progress—will change the situation in Iraq significantly, whether or not it succeeds in its aims.

In fact, it has already done so, and for the better...

[I]t is impossible to say with any confidence what Iraq will look like in the fall. Yes, many things might happen to derail the current plan. But each eventuality would require a different response. ...

As we look ahead, two things are very clear. First, there can be no “do-over”—the various plans proposed in late 2006 as alternatives to the current strategy are extremely unlikely to be relevant in 2007. Any idea of reverting to the Iraq Study Group plan—which focused on pushing more Americans into training teams and pulling them out of the neighborhoods—will probably not make sense in August.

Second, it is very premature to evaluate the success or failure of the surge, since the third of five additional brigades has just begun operations and the other two will not be in place for weeks. The major clear-and-hold operations that are the centerpiece of the strategy have not yet begun in most parts of Baghdad. Military and political plans of this magnitude take months to work, and General Petraeus is right to say that we will not know if this one is working until the fall at the earliest. As the facts on the ground change, our military leaders and policy makers will consider new strategies to deal with them. This is the nature of war.

This is not the time to be rehashing strategies developed six months ago under very different conditions, or to be planning for the collapse of a strategy that has just begun. It is time, however, to consider the possibility that any Plan B in Iraq will focus on exploiting the success of the current surge rather than on mitigating a failure.

IRAQ

A Comprehensive Resource

Tab III: Democrats Undermine Our Troops in the Field, Claim "War is Lost"

- RPC: "Senate micromanagement of the war in Iraq will not bring victory"
- SRCC: "Time Warp: Democrats on Iraq timeline"
- Democrats should follow their own advice – comparison of Democrat quotes from the past to what they're saying now about the advice of the Iraq Study Group
- News stories:
 - Chicago Tribune: "Shortchanging Soldiers"
 - Wall Street Journal: "The Democrats' Surge"
 - Washington Post (Baker): "A Path to Common Ground: The Iraq Study Group Plan Could Break the Logjam"
 - Investor's Business Daily: "Dems' Dead End"
 - Press-Register: "Congress Votes to Set Terms of the Surrender"
 - Washington Post: "Democrats Back Down On Iraq Timetable: Compromise Bill in Works After Veto Override Fails"
 - Reuters: "Senate Rejects Iraq Withdrawal"
- Heritage Foundation: "After the Veto: Next Steps for Congress on the War Funding Bill"
- Quote from Majority Leader Reid: "[T]his war is lost."
- SRC: Troops don't agree with Reid that the "war is lost"
- Sen. Lieberman statement on Majority Leader Reid's Comment that the Iraq War is "Lost"
- Sen. Clinton floor speech re: sunset of authorization of use of US Armed Forces against Iraq
- SRC: "Dems choose gimmicks over compromise: Plan to de-authorize the use of force authorization distracts the left from the need for compromise on troop funding"
- News stories:
 - Investor's Business Daily: "D for Defeatism"
 - Las Vegas Review-Journal: "Harry Reid and a 'Lost' Cause: Senator forced to backpedal on remarks"
 - Wall Street Journal: "Harry's War"
- SRCC: "Time Warp: Prominent Democrats were for the surge before they were against it"
- White House: "Reid vs. Reid: A state of confusion"



SENATE REPUBLICAN

POLICY COMMITTEE

March 15, 2007

S.J. Res. 9 in Action

Senate Micromanagement of the War in Iraq Will Not Bring Victory

Executive Summary

- Democrats have proposed S. J. Res. 9, a resolution to 1) constrain the use of force in Iraq to certain Congressionally pre-approved ends, and 2) provide a date certain for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq.
- S. J. Res. 9 places constraints on the President's direction of the use of force in a way that is anathema to our Constitutional system.
- It micromanages the conduct of the Iraq campaign from the floor of the United States Senate, as it provides that Congress, rather than the Commander-in-Chief, would be determining how force is to be directed.
 - Force in Iraq could only be directed to certain Congressionally pre-approved ends.
- Even though the Commander-in-Chief power is committed by the text of the Constitution to the President exclusively and without exception, S. J. Res. 9 inserts 535 commanders-in-chief into the conduct of military operations in Iraq.
- The resolution does purport to leave behind a "limited" number of U.S. troops to conduct counter-terrorist activities in Iraq, but it is unclear whether the language of the resolution would actually allow the United States to execute effective counter-terrorist operations.
- As a matter of policy, even the Iraq Study Group specifically considered and rejected setting a timetable for withdrawal from Iraq.
 - A recently published National Intelligence Estimate assessed how a precipitous U.S. withdrawal from Iraq directly threatens the United States homeland, as al Qaeda would use parts of the country as a safe haven to plan increased attacks in and outside of Iraq.
- In the near-term, the Senate will likely turn to the President's request for supplemental funding to conduct the war in Iraq. It is at this time that it would be Constitutionally appropriate for the Democrats to effectuate a policy preference to end the U.S. involvement in Iraq.



Time Warp: **Then & Now** ...



DEMOCRATS ON IRAQ TIMELINE

THEN: TIMELINE IS “NOT A WISE DECISION” THAT “WILL ONLY ENCOURAGE OUR ENEMIES”

SEN. HARRY REID (D-NV): “As Far As Setting A Timeline ... That’s Not A Wise Decision, Because It Only Empowers Those Who Don’t Want Us There.” “...I don’t think Senator Kennedy called for any certain time to withdraw the troops. I think that we all look for the day that they can come home. But as far as setting a timeline, as we learned in the Balkans, that’s not a wise decision, because it only empowers those who don’t want us there, and it doesn’t work well to do that.” (Sen. Reid, Remarks To The National Press Club, 01/31/05)

SEN. HILLARY CLINTON (D-NY): “I Don’t Believe It’s Smart To Set A Date For Withdrawal. I Don’t Think You Should Ever Telegraph Your Intentions To The Enemy So They Can Await You.” (Village Voice, 9/22/05 Via “Clinton II: Parsing Clinton’s History On Iraq,” *National Journal’s The Hotline*, 02/13/07)

SEN. JOE BIDEN (D-DE): “A Deadline For Pulling Out ... Will Only Encourage Our Enemies To Wait Us Out.” It Would Be “A Lebanon In 1985, And God Knows Where It Goes From There.” “...we call it quits and withdraw. I think that would be a gigantic mistake for the reasons I stated earlier. Or we can set a deadline for pulling out, which I fear will only encourage our enemies to wait us out, equally a mistake. ... I mean, the idea of setting a timetable to leave generally means that you have to set and train the process of leaving. It is not an easy process. And I think once that is smelled as the option, then I think you find it will degenerate quickly into sectarian violence, every man for himself. And the conclusion that will be achieved will be, I think, a Lebanon in 1985, and God knows where it goes from there.” (Sen. Biden, Remarks To The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 06/21/05)

SEN. EVAN BAYH (D-IN): “I, For Example, Am Not In Support Of Circling A Date On A Calendar And Saying, ‘No Matter What, We’re Out On That Date.’” (John M. Donnelly and Tim Starks, “Iraq Timetable Gains Momentum,” *CQ Weekly*, 03/12/07)

NOW: “OUR MAIN FOCUS WILL BE ON ... SETTING A DEADLINE”

42 Democrats, Including Senators Reid, Clinton, Bayh, And Biden Are Co-Sponsoring S.J.Res.9

S.J.Res.9, “A Joint Resolution To Revise United States Policy On Iraq”: “Commencement of Phased Redeployment From Iraq - The President shall commence the phased redeployment of United States forces from Iraq not later than 120 days after the date of the enactment of this joint resolution, with the goal of redeploying, by March 31, 2008, all United States combat forces from Iraq except for a limited number that are essential for the following purposes: (1) Protecting United States and coalition personnel and infrastructure. (2) Training and equipping Iraqi forces. (3) Conducting targeted counter-terrorism operations.” (S.J.Res.9, Introduced 03/08/07)

- **SEN. HILLARY CLINTON (D-NY)**: Co-Sponsor Of S.J.Res.9, “A Joint Resolution To Revise United States Policy On Iraq” (S.J.Res.9, Introduced 03/08/07)
- **SEN. EVAN BAYH (D-IN)**: Co-Sponsor Of S.J.Res.9, “A Joint Resolution To Revise United States Policy On Iraq” (S.J.Res.9, Introduced 03/08/07)

SEN. HARRY REID (D-NV): “Today I’m Introducing A Joint Resolution... [To Withdraw] Combat Forces From Iraq By The End Of March Of Next Year.” “That’s why today I’m introducing a joint resolution calling for the president to change course and bring stability to Iraq by beginning a phased redeployment of U.S. forces from Iraq no later than 120 days from enactment of the resolution with the goal of redeploying combat forces from Iraq by the end of March of next year.” (Sen. Reid, Press Conference, 03/08/07)

SEN. JOE BIDEN (D-DE): “We Should Withdraw Our Combat Troops By Early 2008...” “I’m pleased Democrats have united behind the fundamental goals Sen. Levin and I set out: start bringing our troops home, narrow the mission of those that remain and pursue a political settlement in Iraq. We should withdraw our combat troops by early 2008, except for a limited number necessary to keep training Iraqis and to deny terrorists a sanctuary.” (Sen. Biden, “Biden Issues Statement On Joint Resolution On Iraq,” Press Release, 03/08/07)

SEN. CHARLES SCHUMER (D-NY): “Our Main Focus Will Be On ... Setting A Deadline.” “And on Iraq, our main focus will be on changing that mission and setting a deadline where that mission is changed a year from now, which will -- it’s a mission that will require many, many fewer troops.” (CBS’ “Face The Nation,” 03/11/07)

SEN. RUSS FEINGOLD (D-WI): “For The First Time, It Has A Timetable In Place...” “For The First Time, It Has A Timetable In Place, as I called for in August of 2005. It’s not as early as I would like, but is a timetable not only to begin to get the troops out but to get the troops except for very limited purposes.” (Sen. Feingold, Press Conference, 03/08/07)

DEMOCRATS SHOULD FOLLOW THEIR OWN ADVICE

Democratic Senators Encourage President to Accept Iraq Study Group

- “It is up to President Bush to enact these recommendations.”¹ – Democratic Leader Reid
- “We ought to follow the Iraq Study Group.”² – Democratic Whip Durbin

The Iraq Study Group Rejected a Timetable for Withdrawal

- “We also the immediate withdrawal of our troops, because we believe that so much is at stake.”³
- “The point is not for the United States to set timetables or deadlines for withdrawal, an approach that we oppose.”⁴

Democratic Senators Once Did as Well

- “As far as setting a timeline ... that’s not a wise decision because it only empowers those who don’t want us there, and it doesn’t work well to do that.”⁵ – Senator Reid
- “We can call it quits and withdraw. I think that would be a gigantic mistake ... Or we can set a deadline for pulling out which I fear will only encourage our enemies to wait us out—equally a mistake.”⁶ – Senator Biden
- “I don’t believe it’s smart to set a date for withdrawal. I don’t think you should ever telegraph your intentions to the enemy so they can await you.”⁷ – Senator Clinton
- “Linking U.S. withdrawal to an artificial deadline . . . would turn our troops into lame ducks as a given date approaches.”⁸ – Senator Biden (writing about Bosnia)

Intelligence Community: Consequences of Premature Withdrawal from Iraq

- A National Intelligence Estimate concludes that the consequences of withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq prior to Iraq being able to provide for its own security would be:⁹
 - al Qaeda would attempt to use Anbar province to plan further attacks outside of Iraq;
 - neighboring countries would consider actively intervening in Iraq; and
 - sectarian violence would significantly increase, accompanied by massive civilian casualties and displacement.
- “AQI [al Qaeda in Iraq] would attempt to use parts of the country—particularly al-Anbar province—to plan increased attacks in and outside of Iraq.”¹⁰ – NIE
 - “Documents captured in a raid on an al-Qaida in Iraq (AQI) safehouse in Iraq revealed AQI was planning terrorist operations *in the U.S.*”¹¹ – Lieutenant General Michael Maples, Defense Intelligence Agency Director.

¹ ABC News blog, Dec. 6, 2006, available at http://blogs.abcnews.com/politicalradar/2006/12/reid_feels_vind.html (quoting Harry Reid).

² Richard Durbin, CNN, The Situation Room, Dec. 8, 2006, available at <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0612/08/sitroom.02.html>.

³ Iraq Study Group, Final Report p. 73.

⁴ Iraq Study Group, Final Report p. 67.

⁵ David Gregory, Meet the Press, Aug. 21, 2005 available at <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/8926876/> (quoting Harry Reid)

⁶ Joseph R. Biden, Speech at Brookings Institution, June 21, 2005, available at <http://biden.senate.gov/newsroom/details.cfm?id=239302&&>

⁷ Sarah Ferguson, What Hillary Told Cindy, Village Voice, Sept. 22, 2005, available at <http://www.villagevoice.com/news/0539.fergusoncamp.68174.2.html> (quoting Hillary Clinton)

⁸ Joseph R. Biden, *Bosnia: Why the United States Should Finish the Job*, SAIS Review, Vol. 18, no. 2, p. 1 (Summer/Fall 1998).

⁹ National Intelligence Council, Prospects for Iraq’s Stability: A Challenging Road Ahead, National Intelligence Estimate (Jan. 2007).

¹⁰ National Intelligence Council, Prospects for Iraq’s Stability: A Challenging Road Ahead, National Intelligence Estimate (Jan. 2007).

¹¹ Lieutenant General Michael Maples, Prepared Testimony of the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence hearing on current and projected national security threats to the United States (The Annual Worldwide Threat Hearing), p. 8, Jan. 11, 2007 (emphasis added).

Chicago Tribune
Shortchanging Soldiers

March 30, 2007

http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/chi-0703290662mar30.0.7760872.print_story?coll=chi-newsopinion-hed

... Congress has spoken. Setting troop deployment in Iraq, however, is not the lawmakers' job. That job belongs to the commander in chief and the nation's military leaders. ...

[S]pecific deadlines only straitjacket American commanders on the ground.

Lawmakers could have attempted to shut off funding for the war, but they didn't. So now they have a duty, just as important, to the tens of thousands of soldiers who are fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan: Pass a spending bill the president will sign.

The legislation heading to the president has another problem: It is bloated with pork-barrel spending. That was a political strategy: Larding the bill with billions in parochial spending rendered it harder for members to oppose.

But U.S. forces on the ground now need around \$100 billion to pursue the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. They don't need \$25 million for spinach growers, as the current House bill provides. They don't need \$74 million for peanut storage. They don't need \$283 million for dairy farmers. They don't need \$5 million to compensate shellfish producers.

A stalemate between the president and Congress on a war spending bill of this magnitude carries imminent dangers. Defense Secretary Robert Gates has warned that failure to pass a funding bill soon would force the Army to delay training of units and halt the repair of vital equipment. Bush has said that troops and their families will face "significant disruptions" if a bill isn't signed into law by April 15.

Ultimately, lawmakers may decide to halt all spending on the war. These votes stand as a sharp warning to Bush that Congress has far less patience than he when it comes to Iraq's leaders and the painfully slow pace of progress. For the moment, neither side appears ready to budge. Both are digging in for a huge political battle over the best way to pressure Iraqi leaders to make the tough moves imperative to secure their country. So be it.

Meanwhile, however, there's a war on. Lawmakers need to strip out the political pork and drop the hard-and-fast deadlines to bring the troops home.

American forces aren't bargaining chips for politicians. And shortchanging soldiers and their families isn't a strategy for ending the war. It's intolerable.

Wall Street Journal
The Democrats' Surge

April 5, 2007

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB117573693100760490.html>

... Helped finally by the right U.S. military strategy, the Iraq nightmare might be ebbing. ...

No such thought intrudes today on Democratic politics. Buoyed by President Bush's 30-something approval and with disaffection over the war at 60%, Senate Majority Leader Reid can promise to sign on to Russ Feingold's pull-the-plug bill; and House Speaker Pelosi, as if making foie gras, can cram an Iraq-withdrawal bill down the gullets of her chamber's membership. The polls are with Harry and Nancy. What can go wrong?

What could go wrong is that the U.S. military's "surge" could go right. The surge, led by Gen. David Petraeus and formally known as the Baghdad Security Plan, is a real strategy being executed by real people on the ground in Iraq. For the past several months, since President Bush announced the plan, the Democratic leadership has acted as if this effort were so irrelevant as to not exist. Why bother? The House leadership has its own "surge" up and running in Washington against the enemy in the White House. ...

The timelines for the Iraq surge announced on Jan. 10 and the Democrats' surge to shut it down have run in tandem. ...

It's not quite three months since the surge began in Iraq, and some early assessments of the operation have emerged. They are positive. Keep in mind that this strategy emerged from military reassessment over the past year, led largely by Gen. Petraeus; this isn't a pick-up team.

Gen. Petraeus himself in recent interviews has been careful not to oversell this early success. But it is difficult to imagine that the American public would want to hang its military with a failure if a better outcome is in reach. ...

If the Iraq surge is succeeding, the Democrats' surge should stand down. If a year from now the Petraeus plan is foundering, the Democrats will have plenty of time to hang it around the GOP's neck by demanding a legitimate withdrawal date — November 2008. But not now.

Washington Post

A Path to Common Ground: The Iraq Study Group Plan Could Break the Logjam

By James A. Baker III

April 5, 2007

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/04/04/AR2007040402252.html>

... The report does not set timetables or deadlines for the removal of troops, as contemplated by the supplemental spending bills the House and Senate passed. In fact, the report specifically opposes that approach. As many military and political leaders told us, an arbitrary deadline would allow the enemy to wait us out and would strengthen the positions of extremists over moderates. A premature American departure from Iraq, we unanimously concluded, would almost certainly produce greater sectarian violence and further deterioration of conditions in Iraq and possibly other countries. ...

The report doesn't recommend a firm deadline for troop removal unless America's military leadership believes that the situation warrants it.

Nothing has happened since the report was released that would justify changing that view. Setting a deadline for withdrawal regardless of conditions in Iraq makes even less sense today because there

is evidence that the temporary surge is reducing the level of violence in Baghdad. As Baghdad goes, so goes Iraq. The Iraq Study Group said it could support a short-term surge to stabilize Baghdad or to speed up training and equipping of Iraqi soldiers if the U.S. commander in Iraq determines such steps would be effective. Gen. David Petraeus has so determined. ...

Investor's Business Daily

Dems' Dead End

April 25, 2007

<http://ibdeditorials.com/IBDArticles.aspx?id=262392927076306#>

The Democrat-led Congress will hand President Bush a bill that requires troop withdrawals to begin this fall. Bush has said he'll veto it. Good. Now it's time for the rest of the GOP to denounce this charade.

Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid has said Bush is in a "state of denial" over the surge in Iraq. In fact, it's the Democrats who are in denial.

The \$124 billion pork-filled bill was scheduled for a vote late Wednesday. Whenever it's passed, the bill they present Bush will be vetoed. ... So what we have left is pure politics.

"On Iraq, the American people want a new direction, and we are providing it," said Sen. Patty Murray, the Washington Democrat and one of the lead congressional negotiators on the legislation.

She's right — they do have a new direction. It's called reverse. Or in military parlance, retreat. But what's truly amazing is that the Democrats can't understand just how bad they look right now.

Consider that this is the week that Gen. David Petraeus, who was only recently put in place to head our war effort, is scheduled to update Congress on the progress in Iraq.

You'd think that Democrats would want to hear that before casting a hasty vote to begin withdrawing our 140,000 troops on Oct. 1 of this year. But you'd be wrong.

As far as Reid is concerned, it doesn't matter what Petraeus says. If Petraeus presents anything other than the gloomy, defeatist picture that Democrats have staked their political futures on, Reid says, "I don't believe him, because it's not happening."

But Reid isn't the only one.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who three weeks ago found ample time to gallivant to Damascus to meet with Baathist Syrian dictator Bashar Assad, said she had a "scheduling conflict" that would prevent her from listening to Petraeus' presentation. Lots of time for terror-supporting dictators, no time for heroes.

Again, this underscores how unserious the Democrats are about national security and the war on terror. They have, by their own admission, a policy based on raw politics — not on moral right, winning the war, what's best for the troops. Just sheer, raw politics.

The president has made clear the danger in such a strategy.

“An artificial timetable of withdrawal would say to an enemy, ‘Just wait them out,’” he said Monday. “It would say to the Iraqis, ‘Don’t do hard things necessary to achieve our objectives,’ and it would be discouraging for our troops.”

The logic of each of those statements is airtight. Not so the Democratic leaders’ own logic in saying if Bush vetoes the bill, “He will be the one who has failed to provide our troops and our veterans with the resources they need.”

No, it will be the Democrats, who are openly, cynically sabotaging the war effort for short-term political gain. ...

Playing politics with a war, as the Democrats have done, is despicable. It’s a good thing Bush will veto their surrender bill. It will make the deadly serious choices we face in the coming two years all the clearer.

Press-Register

Congress Votes to Set Terms of the Surrender

April 28, 2007

<http://www.al.com/opinion/press-register/index.ssf?/base/opinion/11777520094140.xml&coll=3>

As if to prove their Senate leader right when he said the war in Iraq was already lost, Democrats in Congress voted this week to set the terms of the surrender. ...

Our enemies in Iraq — the bloodthirsty members of al-Qaida, the Baath Party loyalists who provided the muscle for Saddam Hussein’s old regime and the Iranian-backed Shiite extremists — won’t be fooled by the Democrats’ double-talk. They know weakness and irresolution when they see them, and they’ll prepare their own strategies for victory in Iraq accordingly.

President Bush, of course, remains determined to win the war. He is still the commander in chief, despite the pretensions of the pork-pushing senators and congressmen who approved the \$124 billion defense appropriations bill (a good chunk of the money was allocated for domestic programs and local projects). ...

Strip away the talk of an “exit strategy” and that’s what the debate over the war has come down to — the Democrats’ acceptance of defeat and the president’s insistence on victory.

Sen. Reid thinks the Democrats are winning the hearts and minds of the American people. Polls suggest he is right, but it’s unlikely that most Americans have pondered the ugly consequences of defeat in Iraq: an all-out civil war in that beleaguered country, a resurgent al-Qaida and a huge increase in Iran’s influence in the Middle East.

Perhaps Sen. Reid’s comments and the vote on withdrawal will help to concentrate the minds of Americans on what’s at stake in Iraq.

Washington Post

Democrats Back Down On Iraq Timetable: Compromise Bill in Works After Veto Override Fails

May 3, 2007

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/05/02/AR2007050201517.html>

President Bush and congressional leaders began negotiating a second war funding bill yesterday, with Democrats offering the first major concession: an agreement to drop their demand for a timeline to bring troops home from Iraq.

Democrats backed off after the House failed, on a vote of 222 to 203, to override the president's veto of a \$124 billion measure that would have required U.S. forces to begin withdrawing as early as July. But party leaders made it clear that the next bill will have to include language that influences war policy. Senate Majority Leader Harry M. Reid (Nev.) outlined a second measure that would step up Iraqi accountability, "transition" the U.S. military role and show "a reasonable way to end this war."

"We made our position clear. He made his position clear. Now it is time for us to try to work together," House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (Calif.) said after a White House meeting. "But make no mistake: Democrats are committed to ending this war." ...

While deadlines for troop withdrawals had to be dropped from the spending bill, such language is likely to appear in a defense policy measure that is expected to reach the House floor in two weeks, just when a second war funding bill could be ready for a House vote. Democrats want the next spending measure to pass before Congress recesses on May 25 for Memorial Day weekend.

Beyond that, Democrats remain deeply divided over how far to give in to the White House. ... Benchmarks have emerged as the most likely foundation for bipartisan consensus ...

Administration officials note that they do not oppose benchmarks, and in fact have developed them in the past along with Iraqis. But they are sensitive about provoking Iraqis, who bristled last year when benchmarks crafted by U.S. and Iraqi officials became public and left the impression that Washington was dictating to Baghdad.

But that approach would be too weak even for moderates from both parties. Already, liberal Democrats think that public opinion and circumstances in Iraq are on their side, and they view benchmarks alone as far too weak. ...

Reuters

Senate Rejects Iraq Withdrawal

May 16, 2007

http://www.reuters.com/article/newsOne/idUSN2039858620070516?src=051607_1503_TOPSTORY_senate_rejects_iraq_withdrawal

The Senate on Wednesday voted overwhelmingly against withdrawing all combat troops from Iraq by March 31 as a majority of senators embraced an alternative plan tying U.S. reconstruction funds to Baghdad's progress in stabilizing the country.

The Senate's votes, while nonbinding, were orchestrated to ease passage on Thursday of a war-funding bill so that House of Representatives and Senate negotiators can get to work on a compromise that President George W. Bush could sign by the end of May.

By a vote of 67-29, the Senate rejected an amendment by Democratic Sen. Russ Feingold of Wisconsin to cut off all funds for combat by March 31.

“It is time to end a war that is draining our resources, straining our military and undermining our national security,” Feingold said before the amendment was defeated.

The anti-war tally was slightly higher than a 2002 vote in which 23 senators tried to block Congress' authorization of the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

... [A]ll four Senate Democrats running for president in 2008 voted to end the war.

Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell of Kentucky said the Feingold vote showed “an overwhelming bipartisan majority rejected giving our enemy a timeline for withdrawal.” ...

By a vote of 52-44, the Senate embraced a Republican plan that would condition new U.S. aid for rebuilding Iraq on Baghdad's progress in bringing political stability and military security to a country rocked by daily bombings. ...

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl Levin, a Michigan Democrat, had hoped to craft a compromise that would have given Bush all the war funds he wanted, while setting an October deadline, that Bush could waive, for starting to withdraw troops.

Levin said he abandoned his amendment in the face of new White House veto threats. ...

The White House also dislikes the proposal to cut aid to the Iraqis if goals are not met, viewing that as “counterproductive,” Fratto said. ...

Heritage Foundation

After the Veto: Next Steps for Congress on the War Funding Bill

April 30, 2007

<http://www.heritage.org/Research/MiddleEast/wm1437.cfm>

Last week, Congress passed irresponsible legislation that holds hostage funding for combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Members of Congress knew when they voted on the bill that the President would consider it unacceptable and veto it. The President's position is correct, and Congress must make haste to send the President a law he can sign. Anything less will put the lives of American soldiers in battle at risk, undermine vital national interests, risk embroiling America even more deeply in the Middle East, and give Americans the false hope that cutting and running will make the world a better place.

Law and Disorder

For at least four reasons, Congress was wrong to set a fixed timeline for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq in its supplemental defense appropriations bill:

1. Success is an option. When the Senate approved the appointment of General David Petraeus to command U.S. troops in Iraq, he told them there is no U.S. military solution to Iraq's problems but that American troops are needed to help Iraq prepare to govern and protect itself. He laid out a strategy to create the conditions for a responsible withdrawal of combat forces. The plan consists of breaking the spiral of violence in Baghdad, building the capacity of the Iraqi military to take over responsibility for security, and fostering effective and responsive Iraqi governance. He said it would take until to June to deploy the troops needed to the job, until September to conclude whether progress is possible, and then more time to finish the mission and bring the troops home. He returned to Washington last week and told Congress that his views have not changed. In response, Congress declared failure and ordered the troops home.
2. There is a war to be won. The fact that both al-Qaeda and Iran have rushed into Iraq to throw gasoline on the fire, fueling sectarian violence in an effort to make the country ungovernable, only demonstrates that the U.S. faces vicious, opportunistic, and relentless enemies who are willing to murder innocents and thwart peace in order to further their own expansionist agendas. Today, there is solid intelligence that sectarian violence is on the decline, and Iran and al-Qaeda are redoubling efforts to reverse this trend. Cutting and running would hand these enemies of freedom a victory and encourage more aggression.
3. Walking away will not end the war. Withdrawal would leave behind those working to throw Iraq into chaos, and the likely results would be a humanitarian disaster and a regional proxy war. ... America cannot simply ignore the problems that running away would cause.
4. Polls do not make Americans safer. Congress knew that an anti-war bill would "poll well" because many Americans are disillusioned over the lack of tangible progress in turning Iraq over to the Iraqis. Public opinion polls, however, do not make America safe, free, and prosperous. Promising Americans that cutting and running from Iraq is the answer to the nation's national security challenges is disingenuous. Only an America that stands up for its vital interests can make America safer. ...

“I believe myself that the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and - you have to make your own decisions as to what the president knows – [know] this war is lost and the surge is not accomplishing anything as indicated by the extreme violence in Iraq yesterday.” – Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, 4/19/07



Message Points
JON KYL, CHAIRMAN

April 24, 2007

Troops Don't Agree With Reid That the "War is Lost"

Reid says he won't "believe" facts from Petraeus

Troops from Senator Harry Reid's home state of Nevada disagree with Reid's statement that the war in Iraq is "lost." An article in the *Las Vegas Review Journal* reported that, **"For the most part, the 50-plus soldiers from a detachment of the Army Reserve's 314th Combat Service Support Battalion expressed similar views about Reid's war-is-lost comments this week. They respectfully disagreed with the Democrat."** [*Las Vegas Review Journal*, "GIs: We're not losing," April 21, 2007]

Lt. Col. Steven Cox, the commander of a reserve army unit being deployed to Iraq, said, **"I find it exceedingly difficult to believe that the American people would leave their military dangling in the wind the way the good senator is doing. Defeatism ... from our elected officials does not serve us well in the field.** They embolden the enemy, and they actually leave them with the feeling that they can defeat us and win this." Cox said he's **"not sure the senator accurately echoes the people he represents. ... I believe his tactics are more of shock in trying to sway public opinion. He may have spoken out of turn."**

Democrats in the Senate apparently agree with the troops that Reid's comments went too far. According to *Roll Call*, "Democratic aides in the Senate acknowledge that the pressure felt by rank-and-file Members to distance themselves could have been much greater if Reid's comments had been given more play in the press." [*Roll Call*, "Caucus Stands by Reid," April 24, 2007]

But Reid doesn't appear to be concerned with what soldiers, or even the commander of the troops in Iraq — General Petraeus — thinks about operations in Iraq. Reid said yesterday that he would not believe General Petraeus if he told him that the surge was working. In an interview yesterday, CNN's Dana Bash asked Sen. Reid, "General Petraeus is going to come to the Hill and make it clear to you that there is progress going on in Iraq. That the so-called surge is working. Will you believe him when he says that?" Reid answered, **"No. I don't believe him. Because it's not happening. All you have to do is look at facts."** [CNN, Interview by Dana Bash with Senator Reid, April 23, 2007]

Joe Lieberman

UNITED STATES SENATOR

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
April 20, 2007

Contact: Marshall Wittmann, 202-224-4041

Senator Lieberman's Statement on Majority Leader Reid's Comment that the Iraq War is "Lost"

WASHINGTON - Senator Joe Lieberman (ID-CT) today made the following statement in response to Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid's comment that the Iraq War is "lost:"

"This week witnessed horrific terrorist attacks by Islamist extremists in Iraq, killing hundreds of innocent civilians and leading Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid to declare that the war is 'lost.'

With all due respect, I strongly disagree. Senator Reid's statement is not based on military facts on the ground in Iraq and does not advance our cause there.

Al Qaeda's strategy for victory in Iraq is clear. They are trying to murder as many innocent civilians as possible in an effort to reignite sectarian fighting and drive us to retreat from Iraq.

The question now before us is whether we respond to these terrorist attacks by running away as Al Qaeda hopes - abandoning the future of Iraq, the Middle East, and ultimately our own security to the very same people responsible for this week's atrocities - or whether we stand united to fight them.

This is exactly the wrong time to conclude that we have lost the war in Iraq, or that our new strategy has failed. Instead, we should provide General Petraeus and his troops with the time and the resources to succeed. We should not surrender in the face of barbarism."

Senator Hillary Clinton
Senate Floor
May 3, 2007

Madam President, I rise to join my colleague and friend, Senator Byrd, to announce our intention to introduce legislation which proposes that October 11, 2007—the five year anniversary of the original resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq—as the expiration date for that resolution.

As Senator Byrd pointed out, the October 11, 2002, authorization to use force has run its course, and it is time to reverse the failed policies of President Bush and to end this war as soon as possible.

Earlier this week, President Bush vetoed legislation reflecting the will of the Congress and the American people that would have provided needed funding for our troops while also changing course in Iraq and beginning to bring our troops home.

I believe this fall is the time to review the Iraq war authorization and to have a full national debate so the people can be heard. I supported the Byrd amendment on October 10, 2002, which would have limited the original authorization to one year and I believe a full reconsideration of the terms and conditions of that authorization is overdue. This bill would require the president to do just that.

The American people have called for change, the facts on the ground demand change, the Congress has passed legislation to require change. It is time to sunset the authorization for the war in Iraq. If the president will not bring himself to accept reality, it is time for Congress to bring reality to him.

I urge my colleagues to join Senator Byrd and me in supporting this effort to require a new authorization resolution, or to refuse to do so, for these new times and these new conditions that we and our troops are facing every single day.

May 4, 2007

Dems Choose Gimmicks Over Compromise

Plan to De-authorize the Use of Force Authorization Distracts the Left from the Need for Compromise on Troop Funding

Senator Hillary Clinton and Senator Robert Byrd yesterday introduced legislation to revoke the Congressional use of force authorization. The effort came at the same time as the left wing of the Democrat party began to rally in opposition to a compromise that would fund the troops without a withdrawal deadline. Articles demonstrate that while Republicans are attempting to move forward to reach a compromise necessary to fund the troops, Democrats continue to engage in political posturing that is good for headlines but bad for the troops.

News reports confirm that Republicans in the House and Senate have already begun discussing the beginnings of a compromise on the war supplemental. The *New York Times* noted that Republicans **“made it clear that benchmarks were a likely part of any compromise,”** and the *Washington Times* reports that, **“Republican leaders in both chambers say they are open to nonbinding benchmarks.”** [*New York Times*, “Clinton Proposes Vote to Reverse Authorizing War,” May 4, 2007; *Washington Times*, “Democrats eye limit on war mandate,” May 4, 2007].

Meanwhile, Democrats are facing a barrage from the left, which has **“unleashed their wrath against Democratic leaders in Congress for indicating that they will back down from Mr. Bush and nix a troop-pullout timetable from the war funding bill.”** [*Washington Times*, “Democrats eye limit on war mandate,” May 4, 2007]

At the same time as the left voiced opposition to a compromise, Sen. Clinton and Sen. Byrd yesterday proposed revoking the authorization for the war—an idea that **“has circulated on Capitol Hill for weeks without gaining much ground.”** [*New York Times*, “Clinton Proposes Vote to Reverse Authorizing War,” May 4, 2007] The plan also would have little practical effect, since it would end up in litigation that could extend years beyond the October deadline for withdrawing the troops. As the *New York Times* reported, “Even if Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Byrd succeed in their effort, it is not clear whether President Bush would have to withdraw troops, or if he could resist by claiming that Congress cannot withdraw its earlier authorization but instead has to deny money for the war to achieve that result. **The question could prompt a constitutional debate over war powers that only the federal courts could resolve.**” [*New York Times*, “Clinton Proposes Vote to Reverse Authorizing War,” May 4, 2007]

Investor's Business Daily

D For Defeatism

April 20, 2007

<http://ibdeditorials.com/IBDArticles.aspx?id=261960647937754>

Party Of Retreat: The Senate's top Democrat has announced to terrorists a U.S. surrender in Iraq. Considering our new strategy's documented successes, Harry Reid's determination to lose is practically treasonous.

In a week that saw the worst mass shooting in U.S. history, and a Senate committee subject the attorney general to a modern-day Salem witch trial, the Senate majority leader managed to say something that made headlines:

"This war is lost," the Nevada Democrat told reporters Thursday, "and this surge is not accomplishing anything."

That's odd. According to the Pentagon, the influx of tens of thousands of troops, accompanied by a new strategy focused on counterinsurgency, and led by a new commander, Gen. David Petraeus, is accomplishing plenty.

Over the past six weeks, as the Baghdad security plan has been implemented, attacks on civilians in the city have been cut roughly in half. Civilian casualties are down almost a quarter nationwide, with attacks on civilians off 17%. Only in north-central Iraq did violence grow. ...

Reid has instead given moral support to the terrorists. His "leadership" has been to try to cut off our forces' war funding. Now he has told the Islamofascists that victory is theirs if they can just keep blowing up U.S. soldiers and Iraqi citizens a little while longer.

In aiding and comforting the enemy in wartime, Reid has betrayed the office he holds, shamed the Nevadans he represents and made the Democratic Party he leads synonymous with surrender. There is one way he can repair the damage he's done to the nation: step down.

Las Vegas Review-Journal

Harry Reid and a 'Lost' Cause: Senator forced to backpedal on remarks

Apr. 22, 2007

<http://www.lvrj.com/opinion/7139891.html>

... Thus, the Democrats' careful strategy requires them to appear to oppose Mr. Bush's ongoing occupation of Iraq (to please their pacifist base), without taking any concrete, "binding" actions to change the status quo.

Enter Sen. Reid, flopping around in big red shoes like Bozo the Clown.

A few weeks ago, Sen. Reid said on a major weekend talk show that he favored a firm deadline for withdrawal of all forces from Iraq. When members of his own caucus said, "What? First we've heard," the senator went into damage control mode—the kind that starts out with staffers explaining, "What the senator meant to say was ..."

But last week he was back at it. As the Democratic House voted 215-199 Thursday to uphold legislation ordering troops out of Iraq next year, Sen. Reid appeared in public to declare the war in Iraq is “lost.”

“I can’t begin to imagine how our troops in the field, who are risking their lives every day, are going to react when they get back to base and hear that the Democrat leader of the United States Senate has declared the war is lost,” responded Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky.

... And in time of war, it’s at least incredibly stupid to tell the enemy a fixed date by which the ammo and other supplies of the American troops will be cut off, encouraging the enemy to merely lay low and hold on.

... Friday morning, the majority leader returned to the Senate floor, supposedly to reiterate his Thursday comments. Yet this time Sen. Reid carefully avoided using the word “lost.” Less than 24 hours after declaring Iraq a lost cause, Sen. Reid insisted, “No one wants us to succeed in Iraq more than the Democrats.”

Um ... what?

What he actually meant to say is that Iraq is lost if we continue to follow President Bush’s strategy, the Democratic leader explained—while once more carefully resisting the temptation to put forward any better strategy.

Sen. Reid then attempted the old cushion shot—“deny everything and make counter-accusations”—as he sought to shift the blame to those who had criticized him the day before.

“The partisans who launched attacks on my comments are the same ones who continue to support a failed strategy that hurts our troops,” Sen. Reid said.

Ah. But it doesn’t “hurt our troops” to tell them—and the enemy—that our Marines and G.I.s are risking their lives in a lost cause before they even suit up and start their engines for this morning’s patrol?

Wall Street Journal

Harry’s War

April 25, 2007

http://online.wsj.com/article/SB117746997021381553.html?mod=opinion_main_review_and_outlooks

We’re going to pick up Senate seats as a result of this war. Senator Schumer has shown me numbers that are compelling and astounding. – Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, April 12

Gen. David Petraeus is in Washington this week, where on Monday he briefed President Bush on the progress of the new military strategy in Iraq. Today he will give similar briefings on Capitol Hill, but maybe he should save his breath. As fellow four-star Harry Reid recently informed America, the war Gen. Petraeus is fighting and trying to win is already “lost.”

Mr. Reid has since tried to “clarify” that remark, and in a speech Monday he laid out his own strategy for Iraq. But perhaps we ought to be grateful for his earlier candor in laying out the strategic judgment — and nakedly political rationale — that underlies the latest Congressional bid to force a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq starting this fall. By doing so, he and the Democrats are taking ownership of whatever ugly outcome follows a U.S. defeat in Iraq.

This isn't to say that the Administration hasn't made its share of major blunders in this war. But at least Mr. Bush and his commanders are now trying to make up for these mistakes with a strategy to put Prime Minister Maliki's government on a stronger footing, secure Baghdad and the Sunni provinces against al Qaeda and allow for an eventual, honorable, U.S. withdrawal. That's more than can be said for Mr. Reid and the Democratic left, who are making the job for our troops more difficult by undermining U.S. morale and Iraqi confidence in American support. ...

More significantly, most Sunni tribal sheikhs are now turning against al Qaeda and cooperating with coalition and Iraqi forces. ...

But the reality (to use Mr. Reid's new favorite word) is that we are fighting al Qaeda in Iraq, and if we lose there we will only make it harder to prevail in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Countries do not usually win wars by losing their biggest battles.

As for Iran, Mr. Reid's strategy of defeat would ... make the mullahs even more confident that they can build a bomb with impunity and no fear of any Western response.



Time Warp: **Then & Now** ...



PROMINENT SENATE DEMOCRATS WERE FOR THE SURGE BEFORE THEY WERE AGAINST IT

SEN. HARRY REID (D-NV)

THEN: **SEN. REID: If Commanders On The Ground Recommend A Surge, “Then Sure I’ll Go along With It.”** “If it’s for a surge - that is, for two or three months - and it’s part of a program to get us out of there, as indicated by this time next year, then sure, I’ll go along with it. ... If the commanders on the ground said this is just for a short period of time, we’ll go along with that.” (ABC’s “This Week With George Stephanopoulos,” 12/17/06)

...

NOW: **SEN. REID: “The Surge Is A Bad Idea.”** (Sen. Harry Reid, Press Conference, 01/05/07)

SEN. REID: “I Am Totally Opposed To The Escalation.” (Tony Batt, “Reid: Democrats Might Try To Deny Funding For Troop Surge,” *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 01/09/07)

SEN. RICHARD DURBIN (D-IL)

THEN: **SEN. DURBIN: “If We Need Initially Some Troops In Baghdad, For Example, To Quiet The Situation, Make It More Peaceful So That Our Soldiers Start Coming Home, Then I Would Accept It.”** (Ed Tibbetts, “Durbin Speaks Out On Troops For Iraq,” *Quad-City Times* (IL), 12/21/06)

...

NOW: **“The Proposed Surge In Troops ‘Is A Sad, Ominous Echo Of Something We’ve Lived Through In This Country,’ Said Durbin.”** (Dori Meinert, “Durbin, Obama Oppose Proposed Surge In Troops To Iraq,” *Copley News Service*, 01/05/07)

SEN. DURBIN: “I Don’t Believe That’s [A Surge] The Answer To Our Challenge In Iraq.”
“The word surge has been carefully chosen. It has a temporary quality to it. I don’t know what the president will propose in specific terms, but if it means sending 20,000, 30,000 more American troops, I don’t believe that’s the answer to our challenge in Iraq.” (Sen. Richard Durbin, Press Conference, 01/05/07)

SEN. CHRIS DODD (D-CT)

THEN: CBS' HANNAH STORM: "Would You Send In More Troops?" SEN. DODD: "Well, I Would. If The Field Commanders Feel They Need It, I Would." (CBS' "Early Show," 06/29/05)

SEN. DODD: "I'd Be Willing To Support Some Additional People If We Needed It In Order To Get The Job Done." SEN. DODD: "Show me some demonstrable evidence that they're coming together as a people — Shias and Sunnis, sitting down and recognizing that they have an obligation to come together as a people — then I'd be willing to support some additional people if we needed it in order to get the job done." (David Lightman, "Dodd Could Back Buildup; Attaches Conditions To More Troops In Iraq," *Hartford Courant*, 12/18/06)

...
NOW: SEN. DODD: "A 'Surge' Of American Troops Will Do Nothing." "The proposal being considered by the administration to add between 15,000 and 30,000 soldiers in a 'surge' of American troops will do nothing to address this issue." (Sen. Dodd, "Begin Withdrawing, Redeploying Troops Now," *Des Moines Register*, 12/24/06)

SEN. DODD: "Adding 20,000 More People ... Is Asking For A Disaster, In My View." "Adding 20,000 more people, 17,000 of whom would be in Baghdad, a city of six million people where 23 militias are operating today, I think, is, is asking for a disaster, in my view." (NBC's "Meet The Press," 1/15/07)

SEN. CARL LEVIN (D-MI)

THEN: SEN. LEVIN: A Surge "Would Be Worth Considering." "The American people are skeptical about getting in deeper ... But if it's truly conditional upon the Iraqis' actually meeting milestones and if it's part of an overall program of troop reduction that would begin in the next four to six months, it's something that would be worth considering." (Jeff Zeleny, "Awaiting Bush's Iraq Plan, Democrats Weigh Replies," *The New York Times*, 01/04/07)

...
NOW: SEN. LEVIN: Congress Could Pass Binding Or Nonbinding Legislation That Limits Troop Levels. "However, Levin said Congress could pass binding or nonbinding legislation that either limits troop levels — something done in the past to limit combat operations and cap peacetime presence — or expresses the sense of Congress that specific goals are needed." (Rick Maze, "Levin: Without Benchmarks, Troop Surge Has No 'Teeth,'" *Navy Times*, 1/10/07)

SEN. JOHN KERRY (D-MA)

THEN: SEN. KERRY: "We Don't Have Enough Troops In Iraq. ... There Aren't Enough People On The Ground... The Way You Honor The Troops And The Way You Provide A Policy To America Is To Do Everything Possible To Win." (NBC's "Today," 06/29/05)

SEN. KERRY: "If It Requires More Troops In Order To Create The Stability That Eliminates The Chaos ... That's What We Have To Do." "I believe the following very deeply. Number one, we cannot fail. I've said that many times. And if it requires more troops in order to create the stability that eliminates the chaos that can provide the groundwork for other countries, that's what we have to do." (NBC's "Meet The Press," 04/18/04)

...

NOW: SEN. KERRY: “Who Is Responsible For Too Few Troops And No Plan?” (Sen. Kerry, Congressional Record, 09/06/06, p. S9010)

SEN. KERRY: “On The Contrary, What I Have Advocated Is Setting A Date By Which Time We Would Withdraw Our Troops.” (Fox News’ “Fox News Live,” 01/11/07)

SEN. KERRY: “What The President Did Last Night Is Essentially Say To The Jihadist World, I’m Raising Our Profile, And It’s An Invitation For Them To Come In And Take On That Target.” (Fox News’ “Fox News Live,” 01/11/07)

SEN. JOE BIDEN (D-DE)

THEN: SEN. BIDEN: “There’s Not Enough Force On The Ground Now To Mount A Real Counterinsurgency.” (Nedra Pickler, “Bush Critics Call For More Troops In Iraq,” *The Associated Press*, 06/29/05)

SEN. BIDEN: “They’re Going To Need A Surge Of Forces.” MSNBC’s ANDREA MITCHELL: “You said, first of all, that we may need some more forces. How many? ...” SEN. BIDEN: “Well, I predict you’re going to hear our commanders say publicly what some are saying privately over there, that they’re going to need a surge of forces between now and January [2005], probably in the order of 25,000 or 30,000. By surge, I mean they’re going to — those troops coming home will be overlapped with those troops that are going, so that you bump up the number temporarily as we approach the elections.” (MSNBC’s “Hardball,” 07/15/04)

NOW: SEN. BIDEN: “The President And Others Who Support The Surge Have It Exactly Backwards.” (“Reid: Brief Troop Increase OK In Iraq,” *The Associated Press*, 12/17/07)

“Biden... Said He Would Oppose Any Effort ... To Increase U.S. Troops In Iraq.” “Incoming Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Joseph Biden, a potential Democratic presidential candidate, said he would oppose any effort by President George W. Bush to increase U.S troops in Iraq as part of a new war strategy.” (Anne Flaherty, “Senate Democrats With Eye On White House Vows To Fight Troops Surge In Iraq,” *The Associated Press*, 12/27/06)

**CONTACT: SENATE REPUBLICAN COMMUNICATIONS CENTER
202.228.NEWS**



In Case Sen. Reid Missed It:

Reid vs. Reid: A State Of Confusion

Sen. Reid's State Of Confusion On The Iraq Study Group Report, Regional Conference, Funding For Political Reconciliation, And His Discussion With The President

"Sen. Reid seems to be in a state of confusion. Today, he said the President 'ignored' the Iraq Study Group by sending more troops to secure Baghdad when the Iraq Study Group report said it would support this step. Sen. Reid also called for a regional conference when one is already set to begin in days, called for emphasizing political reconciliation in Iraq when the Senate's own bill cuts \$243 million vital for political reconciliation, and said his meetings with the President are unproductive despite characterizing his discussion with the President last Wednesday as a 'good exchange' minutes after the meeting concluded."

– White House Deputy Press Secretary Dana Perino, 4/23/07

IN CASE SEN. REID MISSED IT: The Iraq Study Group Endorsed Using Additional Forces To Stabilize Baghdad

Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV): "By ordering his troop surge," the President "ignored the advice of the Iraq Study Group." (Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV), Remarks On Iraq, Washington, DC, 4/23/07)

- **Iraq Study Group Report:** "We could, however, support a short-term redeployment or surge of American combat forces to stabilize Baghdad, or to speed up the training and equipping mission, if the U.S. commander in Iraq determines that such steps would be effective." ("The Iraq Study Group Report," 2006)
- **Iraq Study Group Co-Chair James A. Baker, III:** "Setting a deadline for withdrawal regardless of conditions in Iraq makes even less sense today because there is evidence that the temporary surge is reducing the level of violence in Baghdad. As Baghdad goes, so goes Iraq. The Iraq Study Group said it could support a short-term surge to stabilize Baghdad or to speed up training and equipping of Iraqi soldiers if the U.S. commander in Iraq determines such steps would be effective. Gen. David Petraeus has so determined." (James A. Baker, III, Op-Ed, "A Path to Common Ground," *The Washington Post*, 4/5/07)

IN CASE SEN. REID MISSED IT: Regional Conference To Begin In 10 Days

Sen. Reid: "The first thing that needs to be done is a regional conference." "Have, as the Iraq Study Group said, have the United States meet with Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria and, yes, Iran, to sit down and see what we can do to resolve the issues that are so ugly in Iraq." (Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV), Remarks On Iraq, Washington, DC, 4/23/07)

- **A regional conference is scheduled for early May:** "Ministers from Iraq's neighboring countries, the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and industrialized nations will hold a meeting in Egypt early next month to discuss the situation in Iraq, Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari said Saturday. ... Ministers from Iraq's neighbors as well as Bahrain and Egypt, and the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, will hold a meeting in the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Sharm el-Sheik on May 3-4, Zebari said. ... Also in attendance, Zebari said, will be officials from the so-called Group of Eight industrialized

nations: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the U.K. and the U.S.” (“Ministers From 20 Countries To Meet In Egypt Over Iraq Next Month,” *The Associated Press*, 4/7/07)

IN CASE SEN. REID MISSED IT: The Senate Bill Cuts Funds For Political Reconciliation While Saying Reconciliation Is Key

Sen. Reid: “General Petraeus has said the ultimate solution in Iraq is a political one, not a military one.” (Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV), Remarks On Iraq, Washington, DC, 4/23/07)

- **Of the President’s FY 2007 supplemental request, the Senate cut \$243 million in critical programs that would help the Iraqis meet important political and economic benchmarks.** The Senate added \$120 million to the President’s request, of which \$70 million is for refugees and internally displaced persons and \$50 million is for a specific USAID program, leaving a net cut from the President’s request of \$243 million.
- **The \$243 million in net Senate cuts included:**
 - **\$70 million** to build the governing capacity of local governments.
 - **\$50 million** to help the Iraqis draft and implement key legislative and legal reforms.
 - **\$50 million** to support rule of law programs so Iraqis can better govern themselves.
 - **\$43 million** to promote democracy and civil society efforts.
 - **\$40 million** to build the governing capacity of the national government.
 - **\$10 million** for private sector development.
 - **\$100 million** to support our diplomatic mission and civilian presence, including \$41 million for supporting the doubling the PRTs.
- **President Bush:** “We fully recognize that there has to be political progress and economic progress, along with military progress, in order for that government to succeed.” (President George W. Bush, Remarks, East Grand Rapids, MI, 4/20/07)

IN CASE SEN. REID MISSED IT: Sen. Reid’s Own Comments After Meeting With The President

Sen. Reid today: “We don’t have meetings with the President, not real substantive meetings, he holds carefully scripted sessions where he repeats his talking points.” (Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV), Remarks On Iraq, Washington, DC, 4/23/07)

- **Sen. Reid immediately following last Wednesday’s meeting:** “Well, we had an hour-long meeting with the President. It was a good exchange; everyone voiced their considered opinion about the war in Iraq – the conversation was with the war in Iraq, that’s basically all it was, with a few variations, but mainly that. ... [P]eople gave their opinions, they gave their considered opinion what was going wrong and right with the war in Iraq. And I think we have too little of that. I think it was extremely important the President hear from us. And he heard from us in detail. And I think he needs to hear more of conversations from people like us – who don’t always tell him what he wants to hear. I think we told him things today that he needed to hear.” (Sen. Harry Reid (D-NV), Remarks After Meeting With The President, Washington, DC, 4/18/07)

Speaker Pelosi on the meeting: “I think the conversation that we had is the basis for future conversations on this. But each side was very clear with its position that that doesn’t mean that that’s the end of the conversation. And that is what is known as a negotiation and government, that it’s not just one meeting.” (Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), Remarks After Meeting With The President, Washington, DC, 4/18/07)

IRAQ

A Comprehensive Resource

Tab IV: Democrats Deny Essential Funding to Our Men and Women in Uniform

- SRCC: "100 Days And Still No Supplemental: Congress Has Voted 30 Times On Iraq-Related Measures Without Providing Funding For The Troops"
- SRC: "Democrats unveil 'slow bleed' strategy for Iraq"
- RPC: "Consequences of failure to timely enact a war supplemental"
- SRC: "Iraq Supplemental Part II: Democrats' 'short leash strategy' prevents lifesaving blast-resistant vehicles from reaching troops"
- Letter from the Joint Chiefs of Staff explaining necessity of prompt passage of supplemental
- Letter from the Department of the Army conveying consequences of delayed funding
- Secretary Gates on dangers of Democrat plans for supplemental
- SRC: "100 Days and Counting: The Consequences to Democrats and the Troops"
- News stories:
 - National Review Online (Kyl): "Funding Is Fundamental: Why we fight"
 - Washington Post: "For the Troops'? Not this Time"
 - Wall Street Journal: "Democrats at War"
 - US News & World Report: "Funding the Troops"
 - Roll Call: "White House Slams Iraq 'CR'"
 - Associated Press: "Armored Vehicles for Iraq May Be Delayed"
 - Washington Post: "Retreat and Butter: Are Democrats in the House voting for farm subsidies or withdrawal from Iraq?"
 - Washington Times: "Hogs on the Hill"



Just The **FACTS**



100 Days And Still No Supplemental

*Congress Has Voted 30 Times On Iraq-Related Measures Without
Providing Funding For The Troops*

May 16, 2007

Washington D.C. – Today, Senate Democrats scheduled Iraq votes on an unrelated water resources bill, marking the 30th time Congress has voted on Iraq related measures since receiving the supplemental 100 days ago.

100 DAYS, 30 VOTES, \$0 FOR AMERICAN TROOPS

- In the U.S. House of Representatives, there have been **13 votes** on measures related to Iraq or troop funding, including:
 - McGovern legislation (H.R. 2247) to begin withdrawal immediately
 - Murtha-Obey legislation (H.R. 2206) microfunding the war in multiple “allowances”
 - Obey legislation (H.R. 1591) with timeline for withdrawal, billions in pork, and provisions dictating to generals how best to fight the war in Iraq

House Roll Call Votes [96](#), [97](#), [99](#), [186](#), [264](#), [265](#), [276](#), [326](#), [327](#), [329](#), [330](#), [332](#), [333](#)

- In the U.S. Senate, there have been **17 votes** on measures related to Iraq or troop funding, including:
 - A non-binding “Sense of the Congress” disapproving of “the decision of President George W. Bush announced on January 10, 2007, to deploy more than 20,000 additional United States combat troops to Iraq” (S. 574)
 - Reid resolution (S.J. Res. 9) with surrender date of March 31, 2008
 - Feingold-Reid Amendment (S.A. 1098) to cut off funds on March 31, 2008

Senate Roll Call Votes [44](#), [51](#), [74](#), [75](#), [76](#), [77](#), [86](#), [116](#), [117](#), [123](#), [124](#), [125](#), [126](#), [147](#), [167](#), [168](#), [169](#)

Democrats Unveil “Slow Bleed” Strategy for Iraq

Republicans Challenge Democrats to Vote to Guarantee They Won’t Cut Off Funds for Troops Serving in Iraq

The Democrat leadership in the Senate has again refused to vote to maintain funding for troops serving in Iraq. While demanding a vote on the House Iraq resolution on Saturday, Democrat Leader Harry Reid refuses to allow the question of troop funding to be included in the debate. Republicans in the Senate argued today for a clear up-or-down vote on the funding question after Democratic leadership in both the House and Senate have said that passing a non-binding resolution on a troop surge is a “first step” toward forcing a withdrawal of troops in Iraq.

The Democrats in recent days have publicized their plan for a “slow-bleed strategy” to “choke off” the war. [The *Politico*, “House Democrats’ New Strategy: Force Slow End to War,” Feb. 15, 2007; *Washington Post*, “GOP Looks Beyond War Measure to Fight on Funding,” Feb. 15, 2007] This strategy poses real risks to troops on their way to Iraq, as well as troops already serving in the field.

These statements also conflict with past statements by Democrats like Harry Reid, who said, “We’re not going to do anything to limit funding or cut off funds.” [Senator Harry Reid, quoted by the Associated Press, “Massive Spending Bill For Wars Will Test Democrats,” Dec. 1, 2006] The question which remains is why Harry Reid refuses to allow a vote to protect funding for our troops serving in harm’s way.

The media has reported on the Democrats’ plan to cut off funds for the war:

- The *Washington Post* reported that the Democrat leadership in the House is solidifying around a plan “to slowly choke off the war.” [*Washington Post*, “GOP Looks Beyond War Measure to Fight on Funding,” Feb. 15, 2007]
- The *Politico* reported that Democrats “will pursue a slow-bleed strategy” on Iraq. [The *Politico*, “House Democrats’ New Strategy: Force Slow End to War,” Feb. 15, 2007]
- The Associated Press reported that the non-binding resolution is a “first step” in a plan to cut off funds for troops: “Democrats took control of Congress after elections last fall that were shaped in large measure by public opposition to the war. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, D-Calif., has repeatedly described the nonbinding measure as merely the first step in a longer campaign to end U.S. participation in the nearly four-year-old conflict. Several Democrats have said they favor cutting off funds as a way to accomplish that ...” [Associated Press, “Handful of House Republicans breaking ranks to oppose Bush troop buildup,” Feb. 15, 2007]



SENATE REPUBLICAN

POLICY COMMITTEE

May 1, 2007

Consequences of Failure to Timely Enact a War Supplemental

Media reports cite Senator Reid as stating that Congress has some time to complete a war supplemental without endangering the national security of the United States.¹ This is in direct contradiction to the position of the Secretary of Defense and military commanders. Secretary Gates and General Peter Pace, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have both testified before Congress on these points, and Secretary Gates provided greater fidelity to their testimony in a letter to Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Byrd on April 11, 2007, concluding that:

- “It is a simple fact of life that if the . . . [supplemental] is not enacted soon, the Army faces a real and serious funding problem that will require increasingly disruptive and costly measures to be initiated—measures that will, inevitably, negatively impact readiness and Army personnel and their families.”

Disruption to Military is Already Taking Place

As military leaders have explained, the failure to deliver money to the troops has already resulted in disruptions to the Army’s work.

Lack of funding hinders training Iraqi units.

Democrats repeat their mantra that the United States should focus its efforts in Iraq on training Iraqi security forces, asserting that this will be the most expeditious way to bring U.S. troops out of Iraq—as if this is not what the United States is doing already in Iraq. However, the failure to provide a war supplemental bill that the President can sign in a timely manner has disrupted the ability of the United States to train Iraqi troops. As Major General William Caldwell, chief spokesman for Multinational Force-Iraq, said:

- “At the current moment, because of this lack of funding, MNSTC-I [Multi-National Security Transition Command-Iraq] is unable to continue at the pace [it had in developing] . . . Iraqi

¹ Associated Press, “Congress Clears Iraq Bill, Veto Awaits,” Apr. 27, 2007 (reporting that “Reid said Democrats hoped to have a follow-up war-funding bill ready for the president’s signature by June 1, . . . [which] was soon enough to prevent serious disruption in military operations”).

security forces. . . . [This lack of funding] is starting to have some impact today, and will only have more of an impact over time.”²

Additional funds for MRAP, the best defense against IEDs, are unavailable.

The President requested \$1.83 billion for procurement and outfitting of Mine Resistant Ambush Protected vehicles (MRAP), which the Senate Appropriations Committee fully funded. Senator Biden then took to the floor to provide an additional \$1.5 billion to the Procurement chapter of the supplemental bill for the procurement of MRAPs, because, citing military commanders, “MRAP could reduce the casualties in vehicles due to IED [Improvised Explosive Device] attack by as much as 80 percent.”³ The Amendment was approved by a vote of 98-0.⁴

Now, the failure to provide a war supplemental in a timely manner means that neither funds in the President’s request, nor the plus-up provided by amendment, is currently available for a vehicle pointed out to be “the best available vehicle for force protection.”⁵

There are disruptions to basic Army training and repair of equipment.

In the April 11 letter, Secretary Gates outlined actions the Army will need to take due to the supplemental being delayed:

- “reducing Army quality of life initiatives, including the routine upgrade of barracks and other facilities;”
- “reducing the repair and maintenance of equipment necessary for deployment training;”
- “curtailing the training of Army Guard and Reserve units within the United States, reducing their readiness levels.”

Additional disruptions are on the horizon.

In the April 11 letter, Secretary Gates stated that if supplemental funding is not received by mid-May, the Army will have to consider the following actions:

- “reducing the pace of equipment overhaul work at Army depots, which will likely exacerbate the equipment availability problems facing stateside units;”
- “curtailing training rotations for Brigade Combat Teams currently scheduled for overseas deployment;”
 - “Such a step would likely require the further extension of currently deployed forces until their replacements were judged ready for deployment.” (emphasis added)
- “delaying acceleration of additional modularized Army brigades necessary to expand the Army unit rotational pool and reduce the stress on existing units.”

² American Forces Press Service, “Iraqi Forces’ Efforts Improve Security in Baghdad, Official Says,” Apr. 5, 2007, available at <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=32703> (quoting Major General William Caldwell, chief spokesman for Multinational Force-Iraq).

³ 153 Cong. Rec. S4033 (daily ed. March 28, 2007) (statement of Senator Biden).

⁴ Roll Call Vote No. 124, 110th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 29, 2007).

⁵ Biden.

General Peter Schoomaker, Army Chief of Staff, stated that:

- The Army “will be forced to take increasingly draconian measures which will impact Army readiness and impose hardships on our Soldiers and their families.”⁶

Reprogramming to Mitigate Disruptive Effects is Inefficient & Problematic

In the meantime, without a war funding bill, the Department will have to rely on its reprogramming authorities to string together a budget plan to fund the Iraq war until such emergency funds are received. This is problematic for multiple reasons.

First and foremost, reprogramming requests are generally inefficient and certainly much less optimal than actually receiving the funds up-front. In a letter signed by the Chief of Staff of each of the Services, the Generals noted that “reprogramming is a short-term, cost-inefficient solution that wastes our limited resources.”⁷

Next, reprogramming is itself not without cost. Since reprogramming is essentially robbing Peter to pay Paul, when the Department takes funds to support one program over another, that action must come at the expense of the program from which the funds are taken. As General Schoomaker notes, “These [reprogramming] actions can disrupt and desynchronize our next-to-deploy units as they prepare for war, possibly compromising future readiness and strategic depth.”⁸

Finally, as Secretary Gates noted in his April 11 letter, given that any one of the four congressional defense committees can effectively block a proposed reprogramming, there is no certainty that the reprogramming authorities will even be available.

In conclusion, Secretary Gates noted in his April 11 letter:

- “While some have suggested that the Army can operate this year until July with existing resources and authorities, in reality there are significant limits, costs and disruptions associated with budgetary maneuvers necessary to continue Army operations, as we saw last year. *The technical and limited ability of the Department to transfer funds should not create a sense of complacency regarding the pressing need for the supplemental.*” (emphasis added).

⁶ Letter of General Peter J. Schoomaker (Army Chief of Staff) and Pete Green (Acting Secretary of the Army) to Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell dated March 28, 2007.

⁷ Letter from General Peter J. Schoomaker (Army Chief of Staff), Admiral Michael G. Mullen (Chief of Naval Operations), General T. Michael Moseley (Air Force Chief of Staff), and General James T. Conway (Commandant of the Marine Corps) to Representative David Obey, Chairman House Appropriations Committee, dated April 2, 2007.

⁸ Schoomaker and Green.

Conclusion

The Senate Majority Leader has asserted that Congress has some time to complete an emergency supplemental appropriations bill without serious consequences to military operations in Iraq. In point of fact, this failure to provide a bill the President can sign in a timely manner has already resulted in serious disruptions to the capabilities of U.S. troops to execute their mission in Iraq. Moreover, military leaders have cautioned against the dangers of relying upon transfer authorities in the meantime. Continued delay in completing an emergency supplemental would only exacerbate the difficulties the troops and their families are suffering as a direct result of the failure to provide money for the troops.

Staff Contact: Michael Stransky, 224-2946

May 9, 2007

Iraq Supplemental Part II: **Democrats' "Short Leash Strategy" Prevents Lifesaving Blast-Resistant Vehicles From Reaching Troops**

Just a week after the first emergency war supplemental was vetoed for including a withdrawal timetable and billions of dollars in pork spending, congressional Democrats are now crafting a second spending bill that would only fund the troops for two to three months. The new *short leash strategy* has already been criticized by Senator Levin who said, "it puts our troops on a very short leash in terms of funding." [CQ, "House to Vote on Short-Term War Bill," May 9, 2007]

The Department of Defense says this latest strategy would "have a devastating effect on the department . . . An institution of this size needs to have predictability and assurance on the funding of its programs." [AP, "White House says Bush would veto U.S. Democrats' bill to fund Iraq war only into summer," May 9, 2007] In addition, AP has also reported that providing Mine Resistant, Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles for troops is being stalled by the continuing debate over an emergency supplemental. "[T]he Pentagon says there is not enough cash to buy as many as commanders say they need . . . 'We can build what we can get the funds to build. It's strictly an issue of money,' Gen. Peter Schoomaker, former Army chief of staff, told a Senate committee last month." [AP, "Armored Vehicles for Iraq May Be Delayed," April 28, 2007]

This is especially troubling considering that "the vehicles, with their unique V-shaped hull that deflects blasts outward and away from passengers, are considered lifesavers against the No. 1 killer in Iraq - roadside bombs" and soldiers riding in MRAPs hit by enemy fire and bomb blasts have nearly a 100 percent survival rate according to news reports. [AP, "Armored Vehicles for Iraq May Be Delayed," April 28, 2007]

Despite the warning, House Democrats are planning a Thursday vote on the short-term measure. It appears the plan has been crafted in consultation with anti-war organizations. According to the *New York Times*, "every morning, representatives from a cluster of antiwar groups gather for a conference call with Democratic leadership staff members in the House and the Senate." [New York Times, "Antiwar Groups Use New Clout to Influence Democrats on Iraq," May 9, 2007] *USA Today* notes that "Democrat leaders are trying to negotiate a compromise with the White House that will keep troops in the field from running out of funds while not alienating anti-war activists in their party." [USA Today, "Pelosi renews vow to stop war in bill," May 9, 2007]



THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20318-9999
APR 02 2007

The Honorable Mitch McConnell
Minority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator McConnell:

On behalf of the Soldiers, Marines, Sailors and Airmen of our Armed Forces and their families, please accept our thanks and appreciation for continuing to provide the necessary resources and legislation to fight the Long War.

With the increasing pace of operations and materiel needs in Iraq and Afghanistan, we ask that the Congress expeditiously complete its work on the Fiscal Year 2007 Emergency Supplemental. Timely receipt of this funding is critical to military readiness and force generation as we prosecute the war on terror. Given the current status of this legislation, we are particularly concerned that funding could be significantly delayed.

Without approval of the supplemental funds in April, the Armed Services will be forced to take increasingly disruptive measures in order to sustain combat operations. The impacts on readiness and quality of life could be profound. We will have to implement spending restrictions and reprogram billions of dollars. Reprogramming is a short-term, cost-inefficient solution that wastes our limited resources. Spending restrictions will delay and disrupt our follow-on forces as they prepare for war, possibly compromising future readiness and strategic agility. Furthermore, these restrictions increase the burden on service members and their families during this time of war.

Thank you again for your unwavering support of our service members and their families. We are grateful for your steadfast interest in providing them the best equipment, the best training and a quality of life equal to the quality of their service. We look forward to working with you on measures to enhance our Nation's security.

Sincerely,

PETER J. SCHOOMAKER
General, US Army
Chief of Staff

MICHAEL G. MULLEN
Admiral, US Navy
Chief of Naval Operations

T. MICHAEL MOSELEY
General, US Air Force
Chief of Staff

JAMES T. CONWAY
General, US Marine Corps
Commandant of the Marine Corps

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

16 April 2007

INFORMATION FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

SUBJECT: Funding Needs Prompt Army Spending Constraints

The Army remains determined to do whatever necessary to execute its mission: defending the nation and prosecuting the war on terror while ensuring uninterrupted support to the Families of our deployed Soldiers.

With the Fiscal Year 2007 emergency supplemental for funding operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, and requirements associated with the Global War on Terror, still under congressional review, the Army will slow spending and the Department of Defense will move funds from other accounts to the Army, Army officials announced.

In order to stretch the money it has, the Army will tell commanders to slow spending in certain areas so that war related activities and support to Families can continue. The Department of Defense will also request the Congress approve the temporary reprogramming of \$1.6 billion from Navy and Air Force pay accounts to the Army's operating account.

Beginning in mid-April, the Army will slow the purchase of repair parts and other supplies, relying instead on existing inventory to keep equipment operational. Priority will be given to repair and refurbishment of immediately needed warfighting equipment, while training and other non-mission critical equipment repair will be deferred, officials said. In addition, the purchase of day-to-day supplies with government charge cards will be restricted, non-essential travel will be postponed or canceled, and shipment of equipment and supplies will be restricted or deferred altogether, unless needed immediately for war efforts. The Army added it will also delay the repair of facilities and environmental programs unless the work is for safety or health reasons, or impacts on Family support.

The Army also announced it will take more restrictive actions in May, beginning with a freeze on new civilian hiring from outside the Army and releasing temporary employees. The Army will also cease to enter into new contracts and task orders, and suspend some service contracts supporting training events and facilities. Army commands will be directed to review their outstanding orders for parts, supplies and services and cancel orders that are not essential for immediate operations.

The Army estimates that even with these spending restrictions and a temporary reprogramming of \$1.6 billion, funds are sufficient to keep operations running only until the end of June. These actions carry consequential effects, including substantial disruption to installation functions, decreasing efficiency and potentially further degrading the readiness of non-deployed units.

Point of contact for this notification is MAJ Mary Williams, Office of the Chief of Legislative Liaison, 703-697-2417

**FURNISHED BY:
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF LEGISLATIVE LIAISON**

SECRETARY GATES ON DANGERS OF DEMOCRAT PLANS FOR SUPPLEMENTAL
Senate Appropriations Committee – Defense Subcommittee hearing
May 9, 2007

SEC. GATES: “In truth, I essentially have 10,000 faucets all running money. And some of them run at one rate; some of them run at another. And they all draw on one big pool of money behind them. Turning them on and off with precision and on a day-to-day basis, or even a month-to-month basis, gets very difficult...

“It would have a huge impact on contracting, especially with respect to readiness and reset. In terms of -- I mean, it's tough to do a two-month contract for an MRAP [V-hulled vehicles] for some of these new armored vehicles. It also, as I suggested earlier, to do service and supply contracts on a two-month basis would add significant cost and disruption.

“Finally, in terms of the vote in a proposed vote in July, we will have forward spent so much money to keep the troops in the field by that time that the truth is, if that vote were to be a no, I would have to shut down significant elements of the Department of Defense in August and September because I wouldn't have the money to pay salaries.

“So a no vote in July would have dramatic consequences. In essence, the bill asks me to run the Department of Defense like a skiff, and I'm trying to drive the biggest supertanker in the world. And we just don't have the agility to be able to manage a two- month appropriation very well.”

SEN. TED STEVENS (R-AK): "What's going on now in the department because of the delay in getting the supplemental through? ... What's the urgency of getting another bill to the president?"

SEC. GATES: “Senator, the Army already is slowing spending in a number of areas here at home to provide money to fully fund the war. We just -- this committee, just yesterday, I believe, approved a \$1.6 billion reprogramming from the Air Force and the Navy to the Army. We will probably have another reprogramming up here in a few days. That kind of a reprogramming will extend us about a week...

“So the Army is already trying to cope with this. We will probably -- if we pulled out all the stops, used everything possible available to us, we could probably fund the war into July, but I would tell you, the impact on the Department of Defense in terms of disruption and canceled contracts and programs would be huge if we had to do that.”

May 16, 2007

100 Days and Counting: The Consequences to Democrats and the Troops

Democrats' approval drops while troops lack critical armor and protection

The Senate today will vote on four amendments related to supplemental funding necessary to support our troops engaged in the war in Iraq. These votes will mark the 100th day since the President sent Congress a request for supplemental funding necessary for our troops. Despite having more than three months to pass this funding, the Democrat majority has failed to provide the troops the resources they need. The consequences to the troops and the Democrat majority for this delay in funding are outlined below.

- **Troops are not receiving the armor and equipment they need:** According to Defense Secretary Robert Gates, “the funding delay negatively impacts our forces in the field by needlessly delaying the accelerated fielding of new force protection capabilities such as the Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicle and counter-IED technologies developed and acquired by the Joint IED Defeat Organization (JIEDDO). Finally, the ongoing delay resulted in the depletion of funds necessary to accelerate the training of Iraqi security forces.” [Defense Secretary Robert Gates Letter to Senator John McCain, May 9, 2007]
- **Democrats are being blamed for not providing funding to our troops:** When asked who is more responsible for the troops not having funding, 44 percent blamed congressional Democrats, while 34 percent blamed President Bush. [CNN/Opinion Research Poll, May 4-6, 2007]
- **Approval of the Democrat-led Congress is down to only 29 percent:** The Democrat Congress has dropped from its 37 percent approval rating in February. Congress doesn't even receive the support of a majority of Democrats, with only 37 percent approval among members of its own party. [*Gallup News Service*, “Congress Approval Down to 29 Percent,” May 15, 2007]
- **The Democrat's legislative agenda has stalled:** According to the *Washington Post*, “Not a single priority on the Democrats' agenda has been enacted, and some in the party are growing nervous that the ‘do nothing’ tag they slapped on Republicans last year could come back to haunt them.” [*Washington Post*, “Democrats' Momentum is Stalling,” May 11, 2007]

National Review Online

Funding Is Fundamental: Why we fight

By Sen. Jon Kyl

April 4, 2007

<http://article.nationalreview.com/?q=NjU0NmI2YWUwMjdhZGRhOWIzM2FIZDEwOGU0MGZjNGI=>

... Setting arbitrary deadlines for exiting Iraq is terrible policy — it sends the wrong message to our troops, our allies, and the enemy. It tells our troops that whatever efforts they make in Iraq won't matter, because successful or not, we're pulling out a year from now. It tells the Iraqi government that its efforts to meet the bill's benchmarks won't matter, because we'll pull out whether they meet those benchmarks or not. And it tells the terrorists all they have to do is wait us out. ...

The entire debate surrounding the “security supplemental” demonstrates a disturbing lack of seriousness about what's really at stake here. Not content with prolonging this process to the point where the Pentagon will be struggling to find the money to support our troops, Democrats have abandoned their purported commitment to fiscal responsibility and loaded this emergency war supplemental with billions in pork, such as \$3 million for sugar cane (which goes to one Hawaiian co-op) and \$24 million for sugar beets.

An emergency war-supplemental should fund one thing only: the urgent needs of our troops. While some of the spending items attached to this bill are perhaps worthy of consideration at another time, they have nothing to do with emergency war-spending and thus have no place in this bill.

We've asked our troops to carry out a mission in Iraq, and we have an obligation to ensure they have the tools to do so. Every day this bill is delayed is a day our troops are without the resources they need. Congress needs to get this legislation to the president immediately, free of arbitrary timelines and spending unrelated to the war. We owe our troops nothing less.

Washington Times

'For the Troops'? Not this Time

April 4, 2007

<http://www.washtimes.com/op-ed/20070403-085304-2290r.htm>

After the midterm elections, the Democratic congressional leadership promised not to cut funding for the war. “We're not going to do anything to limit funding or cut off funds,” said Harry Reid on Nov. 30. “For the troops” was the Democratic mantra then. This week, fingers ever in the wind, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi blew the doors off that post-election promise, saying that President Bush's refusal to accept a timeline for withdrawal requires that they threaten a cutoff. ...

“I am delighted to be working with the majority leader to bring our involvement in the Iraq war to an end,” Sen. Russ Feingold, Wisconsin Democrat, said this week. The bill “end funding for the president's failed Iraq policy.” There is no confusion on what this bill intends.

Words have no meaning if this can be reconciled with directly antithetical promises made only a few months ago. Mr. Reid made his “not going to do anything” statement three weeks after the elections. This wasn't some phony campaign promise. It was a phony Washington promise. All

indications are that this statement was intended to be taken seriously as an indication of how Democrats would proceed in the 110th Congress. ...

It's not just Mr. Reid who has flip-flopped in the last four months. Here's Mrs. Pelosi on Dec. 5: "We will not cut off funding for the troops."

To hear Democrats explain the discrepancy, it's all Mr. Bush's fault. His refusal to acquiesce in a withdrawal timeline forced it, they say. Of course. Now we're clear on the meaning of these post-election promises. "We will not cut off funding for the troops" actually meant: "We might cut off funding if President Bush resists our attempts to micromanage the war in Iraq."

Wall Street Journal

Democrats at War

April 6, 2007

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB117582260835061761.html>

Democrats took Congress last fall in part by opposing the war in Iraq, but it is becoming clear that they view their election as a mandate for something far more ambitious — to wit, promoting and executing their own foreign policy, albeit without the detail of a Presidential election.

Their intentions were made plain this week with two remarkable acts by their House and Senate leaders. Majority Leader Harry Reid endorsed Senator Russ Feingold's proposal to withdraw from Iraq immediately, cutting off funds entirely within a year. He promised a vote soon ...

Harry Reid says his response to Mr. Bush's certain veto of his Iraq spending bill will be to escalate. He now supports cutting off funds and beginning an immediate withdrawal, even as General David Petraeus's surge in Baghdad unfolds and shows signs of promise. If Mr. Bush were as politically cynical as Democrats think, he'd let Mr. Reid's policy become law. Then Democrats would share responsibility for whatever mayhem happened next.

So this is Democratic foreign policy: Assure our enemies that they can ignore a President who still has 21 months to serve; and wash their hands of Baghdad and of their own guilt for voting to let Mr. Bush go to war. No doubt Democrats think the President's low job approval, and public unhappiness with the war, gives them a kind of political immunity. But we wonder.

Once we leave Iraq, America's enemies will still reside in the Mideast; and they will be stronger if we leave behind a failed government and bloodbath in Iraq. Mr. Bush's successor will have to contain the damage, and that person could even be a Democrat. But by reverting to their Vietnam message of retreat and by blaming Mr. Bush for all the world's ills, Democrats on Capitol Hill may once again convince voters that they can't be trusted with the White House in a dangerous world.

U.S. News & World Report

Funding the Troops

April 22, 2007

<http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/070422/30barone.htm>

... The 71-member Progressive Caucus headed by Lynne Woolsey and Barbara Lee (who cast the sole vote against military action in Afghanistan) in February called for withdrawal in six months. Pelosi and the majority leader twisted arms and ladled out enough pork (relief for spinach farmers, etc.) to get most of its members in line in March on a bill with a deadline. Now, they'll have to work to get them to vote for a bill without one.

The alternative is to get Republican votes. But only two of them voted for the March bill, and few are likely to support anything but a "clean bill," with no deadlines, goals, or benchmarks. But that would enrage many Democrats. The CodePink group and other antiwar organizations have already been staging demonstrations in Pelosi's office. They'd get really angry if a Democratic House passes a "clean bill." ...

We see here a division in the Democratic Party—its politicians and its voters—that we have seen ever since military action started to be considered in 2002. ...

What's curious is that congressional Democrats don't seem much interested in what's actually happening in Iraq. The commander in Iraq, Gen. David Petraeus, returns to Washington this week, but last week Pelosi's office said "scheduling conflicts" prevented him from briefing House members. ... Pelosi and other top House Democrats skipped a Pentagon videoconference with Petraeus March 8. ... They want to be seen as acting to end the war. But they dare not be seen as not funding the troops.

Roll Call

White House Slams Iraq 'CR'

April 23, 2007

http://www.rollcall.com/issues/52_112/news/18103-1.html?type=pf

The Bush administration is warning Democrats not to pass a short-term war spending bill following an expected veto of a long-term war supplemental later this week, arguing that doing so would wreak havoc with the military's ability to plan and prosecute the war. ...

Moran said that having short-term spending bills would keep the pressure on the Bush administration and Republicans to change course in Iraq.

But Portman said, "This doesn't solve the problem, which is to provide the funding for the troops in an efficient way. It also puts off the inevitable. Are you going to provide the funding for the troops or not?" ...

Some House liberals, meanwhile, are on board with a short-term Iraq spending bill. Rep. Lynn Woolsey (D-Calif.), co-chairwoman of the Out of Iraq Caucus, voted against the war supplemental but said she would support a two-month funding bill. After that, Woolsey said, she would only support funding to bring the troops home.

Associated Press

Armored Vehicles for Iraq May Be Delayed

April 28, 2007

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/worldlatest/story/0,,-6594623,00.html>

CAMP FALLUJAH, Iraq (AP) - The armored carrier has a grim black slash across its side, burn marks on the door and a web of cracks along the window.

Like most of the Mine Resistant, Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles in Anbar province, this one has been hit as many as three times by enemy fire and bomb blasts. Yet, to date, no American troops have died while riding in one.

But efforts to buy thousands more carriers - each costing about \$1 million - could be delayed if the White House and Congress do not resolve their deadlock over a \$124.2 billion war spending bill.

About \$3 billion for the vehicles is tied up in the legislation. The spending plan has stalled because of a dispute over provisions that would set a timetable for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq.

...

As the Pentagon scrapes to find the money to run the war in the midst of the budget impasse, the Pentagon says there is not enough cash to buy as many as commanders say they need.

"We can build what we can get the funds to build. It's strictly an issue of money," Gen. Peter Schoomaker, former Army chief of staff, told a Senate committee last month. ...

Washington Post

Retreat and Butter: Are Democrats in the House voting for farm subsidies or withdrawal from Iraq?

Friday, March 23, 2007; A16

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/03/22/AR2007032201883_pf.html

... The Democrats claim to have a mandate from voters to reverse the Bush administration's policy in Iraq. Yet the leadership is ready to piece together the votes necessary to force a fateful turn in the war by using tactics usually dedicated to highway bills or the Army Corps of Engineers budget. The legislation pays more heed to a handful of peanut farmers than to the 24 million Iraqis who are living through a maelstrom initiated by the United States, the outcome of which could shape the future of the Middle East for decades. ...

As it is, House Democrats are pressing a bill that has the endorsement of MoveOn.org but excludes the judgment of the U.S. commanders who would have to execute the retreat the bill mandates. It would heap money on unneedy dairy farmers while provoking a constitutional fight with the White House that could block the funding to equip troops in the field. Democrats who want to force a withdrawal should vote against war appropriations. They should not seek to use pork to buy a majority for an unconditional retreat that the majority does not support.

Washington Times

Hogs on the Hill

March 22, 2007

<http://www.washingtontimes.com/op-ed/20070321-091128-4106r.htm>

... Democratic leaders and appropriators responded by adding \$21 billion to the bill. The vast majority of the additions comprised pork projects or spending utterly unrelated to the wars. The extra spending was designed for a single purpose: to purchase support from Democrats who otherwise would have voted against the bill. Moderate Democrats opposed the legislation because of its war-fighting micromanagement features and ultimatums. Liberal Democrats opposed it because it did not stop funding the Iraq war. ...

Gary Andres, columnist for The Washington Times, said it best last week. "No one believes crafting congressional policy toward the war in Iraq is a game. It is deadly serious business with life-and-death consequences," Mr. Andres wrote. "In the short run, however, House Democrats' current decision to mix war strategy with funding for farmers, children's health and even raising the minimum wage dangerously merges a serious vote of conscience with the perception of porkbarrel spending and vote trading." As this legislative sausage-making plays out in public, Mr. Andres warned that "the public's perceptions of vote-trading and special-interest politics are only fanned into flames of cynicism by this kind of procedure."

In providing Congress with more timely wartime spending requests, Mr. Bush seemed to get the voters' message. For their part, Democratic leaders seemed to conduct a huge bait-and-switch campaign.

The logo features the word "IRAQ" in a large, bold, black, hand-drawn font. The letter "Q" is stylized with a circular shape that contains three grey stars, reminiscent of the Iraqi flag. The letters are set against a background of three horizontal bands: a light grey top band, a white middle band, and a dark grey bottom band.

A Comprehensive Resource

Tab V: The World Recognized Saddam Hussein as a Threat

- President Bush's March 19, 2003 address to the nation
- H.J.Res. 114: Joint Resolution authorizing use of US Armed Forces against Iraq
- Senate roll call vote on H.J.Res. 114, which passed 77-23 (Oct. 11, 2002)
- Democrats: Iraq is a Threat
- Prime Minister Blair speech, September 10, 2002
- US Department of State: "Security Council Resolutions Concerning Iraq"
- United Nations Security Council: Resolution 1441



THE WHITE HOUSE
PRESIDENT
GEORGE W. BUSH

Ar Rutbah

Operation Iraqi Freedom

BAGHDAD

For Immediate Release
Office of the Press Secretary
March 19, 2003

President Bush Addresses the Nation

The Oval Office

10:16 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: My fellow citizens, at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.

On my orders, coalition forces have begun striking selected targets of military importance to undermine Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war. These are opening stages of what will be a broad and concerted campaign. More than 35 countries are giving crucial support -- from the use of naval and air bases, to help with intelligence and logistics, to the deployment of combat units. Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense.

To all the men and women of the United States Armed Forces now in the Middle East, the peace of a troubled world and the hopes of an oppressed people now depend on you. That trust is well placed.

The enemies you confront will come to know your skill and bravery. The people you liberate will witness the honorable and decent spirit of the American military. In this conflict, America faces an enemy who has no regard for conventions of war or rules of morality. Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military -- a final atrocity against his people.

I want Americans and all the world to know that coalition forces will make every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm. A campaign on the harsh terrain of a nation as large as California could be longer and more difficult than some predict. And helping Iraqis achieve a united, stable and free country will require our sustained commitment.

We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, for their great civilization and for the religious faiths they practice. We have no ambition in Iraq, except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people.

I know that the families of our military are praying that all those who serve will return safely and soon. Millions of Americans are praying with you for the safety of your loved ones and for the protection of the innocent. For your sacrifice, you have the gratitude and respect of the American people. And you can know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.

Our nation enters this conflict reluctantly -- yet, our purpose is sure. The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder. We will meet that threat now, with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

Now that conflict has come, the only way to limit its duration is to apply decisive force. And I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures, and we will accept no outcome but victory.

My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail.

May God bless our country and all who defend her.

END 10:20 P.M. EST

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html>

One Hundred Seventh Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

*Begun and held at the City of Washington on Wednesday,
the twenty-third day of January, two thousand and two*

Joint Resolution

To authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq.

Whereas in 1990 in response to Iraq's war of aggression against and illegal occupation of Kuwait, the United States forged a coalition of nations to liberate Kuwait and its people in order to defend the national security of the United States and enforce United Nations Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq;

Whereas after the liberation of Kuwait in 1991, Iraq entered into a United Nations sponsored cease-fire agreement pursuant to which Iraq unequivocally agreed, among other things, to eliminate its nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programs and the means to deliver and develop them, and to end its support for international terrorism;

Whereas the efforts of international weapons inspectors, United States intelligence agencies, and Iraqi defectors led to the discovery that Iraq had large stockpiles of chemical weapons and a large scale biological weapons program, and that Iraq had an advanced nuclear weapons development program that was much closer to producing a nuclear weapon than intelligence reporting had previously indicated;

Whereas Iraq, in direct and flagrant violation of the cease-fire, attempted to thwart the efforts of weapons inspectors to identify and destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction stockpiles and development capabilities, which finally resulted in the withdrawal of inspectors from Iraq on October 31, 1998;

Whereas in Public Law 105-235 (August 14, 1998), Congress concluded that Iraq's continuing weapons of mass destruction programs threatened vital United States interests and international peace and security, declared Iraq to be in "material and unacceptable breach of its international obligations" and urged the President "to take appropriate action, in accordance with the Constitution and relevant laws of the United States, to bring Iraq into compliance with its international obligations";

Whereas Iraq both poses a continuing threat to the national security of the United States and international peace and security in the Persian Gulf region and remains in material and unacceptable breach of its international obligations by, among other things, continuing to possess and develop a significant chemical and biological weapons capability, actively seeking a nuclear weapons capability, and supporting and harboring terrorist organizations;

Whereas Iraq persists in violating resolution of the United Nations Security Council by continuing to engage in brutal repression of its civilian population thereby threatening international peace

- and security in the region, by refusing to release, repatriate, or account for non-Iraqi citizens wrongfully detained by Iraq, including an American serviceman, and by failing to return property wrongfully seized by Iraq from Kuwait;
- Whereas the current Iraqi regime has demonstrated its capability and willingness to use weapons of mass destruction against other nations and its own people;
- Whereas the current Iraqi regime has demonstrated its continuing hostility toward, and willingness to attack, the United States, including by attempting in 1993 to assassinate former President Bush and by firing on many thousands of occasions on United States and Coalition Armed Forces engaged in enforcing the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council;
- Whereas members of al Qaida, an organization bearing responsibility for attacks on the United States, its citizens, and interests, including the attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, are known to be in Iraq;
- Whereas Iraq continues to aid and harbor other international terrorist organizations, including organizations that threaten the lives and safety of United States citizens;
- Whereas the attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, underscored the gravity of the threat posed by the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by international terrorist organizations;
- Whereas Iraq's demonstrated capability and willingness to use weapons of mass destruction, the risk that the current Iraqi regime will either employ those weapons to launch a surprise attack against the United States or its Armed Forces or provide them to international terrorists who would do so, and the extreme magnitude of harm that would result to the United States and its citizens from such an attack, combine to justify action by the United States to defend itself;
- Whereas United Nations Security Council Resolution 678 (1990) authorizes the use of all necessary means to enforce United Nations Security Council Resolution 660 (1990) and subsequent relevant resolutions and to compel Iraq to cease certain activities that threaten international peace and security, including the development of weapons of mass destruction and refusal or obstruction of United Nations weapons inspections in violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 (1991), repression of its civilian population in violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 688 (1991), and threatening its neighbors or United Nations operations in Iraq in violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 949 (1994);
- Whereas in the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1), Congress has authorized the President "to use United States Armed Forces pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 678 (1990) in order to achieve implementation of Security Council Resolution 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, and 677";
- Whereas in December 1991, Congress expressed its sense that it "supports the use of all necessary means to achieve the goals of United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 as being consistent with the Authorization of Use of Military Force Against

Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102–1),” that Iraq’s repression of its civilian population violates United Nations Security Council Resolution 688 and “constitutes a continuing threat to the peace, security, and stability of the Persian Gulf region,” and that Congress, “supports the use of all necessary means to achieve the goals of United Nations Security Council Resolution 688”;

Whereas the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105–338) expressed the sense of Congress that it should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove from power the current Iraqi regime and promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime;

Whereas on September 12, 2002, President Bush committed the United States to “work with the United Nations Security Council to meet our common challenge” posed by Iraq and to “work for the necessary resolutions,” while also making clear that “the Security Council resolutions will be enforced, and the just demands of peace and security will be met, or action will be unavoidable”;

Whereas the United States is determined to prosecute the war on terrorism and Iraq’s ongoing support for international terrorist groups combined with its development of weapons of mass destruction in direct violation of its obligations under the 1991 cease-fire and other United Nations Security Council resolutions make clear that it is in the national security interests of the United States and in furtherance of the war on terrorism that all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions be enforced, including through the use of force if necessary;

Whereas Congress has taken steps to pursue vigorously the war on terrorism through the provision of authorities and funding requested by the President to take the necessary actions against international terrorists and terrorist organizations, including those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such persons or organizations;

Whereas the President and Congress are determined to continue to take all appropriate actions against international terrorists and terrorist organizations, including those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such persons or organizations;

Whereas the President has authority under the Constitution to take action in order to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States, as Congress recognized in the joint resolution on Authorization for Use of Military Force (Public Law 107–40); and

Whereas it is in the national security interests of the United States to restore international peace and security to the Persian Gulf region: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This joint resolution may be cited as the “Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002”.

SEC. 2. SUPPORT FOR UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS.

The Congress of the United States supports the efforts by the President to—

- (1) strictly enforce through the United Nations Security Council all relevant Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq and encourages him in those efforts; and
- (2) obtain prompt and decisive action by the Security Council to ensure that Iraq abandons its strategy of delay, evasion and noncompliance and promptly and strictly complies with all relevant Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq.

SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES.

(a) **AUTHORIZATION.**—The President is authorized to use the Armed Forces of the United States as he determines to be necessary and appropriate in order to—

- (1) defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq; and
- (2) enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq.

(b) **PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION.**—In connection with the exercise of the authority granted in subsection (a) to use force the President shall, prior to such exercise or as soon thereafter as may be feasible, but no later than 48 hours after exercising such authority, make available to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate his determination that—

- (1) reliance by the United States on further diplomatic or other peaceful means alone either (A) will not adequately protect the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq or (B) is not likely to lead to enforcement of all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq; and
- (2) acting pursuant to this joint resolution is consistent with the United States and other countries continuing to take the necessary actions against international terrorist and terrorist organizations, including those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001.

(c) **WAR POWERS RESOLUTION REQUIREMENTS.**—

(1) **SPECIFIC STATUTORY AUTHORIZATION.**—Consistent with section 8(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution, the Congress declares that this section is intended to constitute specific statutory authorization within the meaning of section 5(b) of the War Powers Resolution.

(2) **APPLICABILITY OF OTHER REQUIREMENTS.**—Nothing in this joint resolution supersedes any requirement of the War Powers Resolution.

SEC. 4. REPORTS TO CONGRESS.

(a) **REPORTS.**—The President shall, at least once every 60 days, submit to the Congress a report on matters relevant to this joint resolution, including actions taken pursuant to the exercise of authority granted in section 3 and the status of planning for efforts that are expected to be required after such actions are completed, including those actions described in section 7 of the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105–338).

H. J. Res. 114—5

(b) SINGLE CONSOLIDATED REPORT.—To the extent that the submission of any report described in subsection (a) coincides with the submission of any other report on matters relevant to this joint resolution otherwise required to be submitted to Congress pursuant to the reporting requirements of the War Powers Resolution (Public Law 93–148), all such reports may be submitted as a single consolidated report to the Congress.

(c) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—To the extent that the information required by section 3 of the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102–1) is included in the report required by this section, such report shall be considered as meeting the requirements of section 3 of such resolution.

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

*Vice President of the United States and
President of the Senate.*

U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes 107th Congress - 2nd Session

as compiled through Senate LIS by the Senate Bill Clerk under the direction of the Secretary of the Senate

Vote Summary

Question: On the Joint Resolution (H.J.Res. 114)

Vote Number: 237 **Vote Date:** October 11, 2002, 12:50 AM

Required For Majority: 1/2 **Vote Result:** Joint Resolution Passed

Measure Number: [H.J.Res. 114](#)

Measure Title: A joint resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq.

Vote Counts: YEAs 77

NAYs 23

YEAs ---77

Allard (R-CO)	Edwards (D-NC)	McCain (R-AZ)
Allen (R-VA)	Ensign (R-NV)	McConnell (R-KY)
Baucus (D-MT)	Enzi (R-WY)	Miller (D-GA)
Bayh (D-IN)	Feinstein (D-CA)	Murkowski (R-AK)
Bennett (R-UT)	Fitzgerald (R-IL)	Nelson (D-FL)
Biden (D-DE)	Frist (R-TN)	Nelson (D-NE)
Bond (R-MO)	Gramm (R-TX)	Nickles (R-OK)
Breaux (D-LA)	Grassley (R-IA)	Reid (D-NV)
Brownback (R-KS)	Gregg (R-NH)	Roberts (R-KS)
Bunning (R-KY)	Hagel (R-NE)	Rockefeller (D-WV)
Burns (R-MT)	Harkin (D-IA)	Santorum (R-PA)
Campbell (R-CO)	Hatch (R-UT)	Schumer (D-NY)
Cantwell (D-WA)	Helms (R-NC)	Sessions (R-AL)
Carnahan (D-MO)	Hollings (D-SC)	Shelby (R-AL)
Carper (D-DE)	Hutchinson (R-AR)	Smith (R-NH)
Cleland (D-GA)	Hutchison (R-TX)	Smith (R-OR)
Clinton (D-NY)	Inhofe (R-OK)	Snowe (R-ME)
Cochran (R-MS)	Johnson (D-SD)	Specter (R-PA)
Collins (R-ME)	Kerry (D-MA)	Stevens (R-AK)
Craig (R-ID)	Kohl (D-WI)	Thomas (R-WY)
Crapo (R-ID)	Kyl (R-AZ)	Thompson (R-TN)
Daschle (D-SD)	Landrieu (D-LA)	Thurmond (R-SC)
DeWine (R-OH)	Lieberman (D-CT)	Torricelli (D-NJ)
Dodd (D-CT)	Lincoln (D-AR)	Voinovich (R-OH)
Domenici (R-NM)	Lott (R-MS)	Warner (R-VA)
Dorgan (D-ND)	Lugar (R-IN)	

NAYs ---23

Akaka (D-HI)	Durbin (D-IL)	Mikulski (D-MD)
Bingaman (D-NM)	Feingold (D-WI)	Murray (D-WA)
Boxer (D-CA)	Graham (D-FL)	Reed (D-RI)
Byrd (D-WV)	Inouye (D-HI)	Sarbanes (D-MD)
Chafee (R-RI)	Jeffords (I-VT)	Stabenow (D-MI)
Conrad (D-ND)	Kennedy (D-MA)	Wellstone (D-MN)
Corzine (D-NJ)	Leahy (D-VT)	Wyden (D-OR)
Dayton (D-MN)	Levin (D-MI)	

DEMOCRATS: IRAQ IS A THREAT

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON: “Or we take some ambiguous third route which gives him yet more opportunities to develop this program of weapons of mass destruction, continue to press for the release of sanctions, and continue to ignore the solemn commitments that he made.” (Remarks to Joint Chiefs of Staff and Pentagon staff, Arlington, VA, 2-17-98)

SECRETARY OF STATE MADELEINE ALBRIGHT: “Iraq is a long way from Ohio, but what happens there matters a great deal here. For the risks that the leaders of a rogue state will use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons against us or our allies is the greatest security threat we face. And it is a threat against which we must, and will, stand firm.” (Town Hall meeting, Columbus, OH, 2-18-98)

NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR SANDY BERGER: “He will rebuild his arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. And some day, some way, I am certain, he will use that arsenal again as he has 10 times since 1983.” (Town Hall meeting, Columbus, OH, 2-18-98)

GOV. HOWARD DEAN (D-VT): “There are such things as international outlaws; I’m not sure if China is one but I am quite sure that Iran and Iraq are.” (CBC/PBS’s The Editors, 1-31-98)

SEN. DICK DURBIN (D-IL): “When you look at what Saddam Hussein has at his disposal, in terms of chemical, biological, and perhaps even nuclear weapons, we cannot ignore the threat that he poses to the region and the fact that he has fomented terrorism throughout his reign.” (CNN’s Larry King Live, 12-21-01)

REP. NANCY PELOSI (D-CA): “Saddam Hussein certainly has chemical and biological weapons. There is no question about that.” (NBC’s Meet the Press, 12-17-02)

SEN. JAY ROCKEFELLER (D-WV): “There is unmistakable evidence that Saddam Hussein is working aggressively to develop nuclear weapons and will likely have nuclear weapons within the next five years. We also should remember we have always underestimated the progress that Saddam Hussein has been able to make in the development of weapons of mass destruction.” (Senate floor, 10-10-02)

SEN. JOE BIDEN (D-DE): “We know he continues to attempt to gain access to additional capability including nuclear capability. There is a real debate on how far off that is, whether it’s a matter of years or whether it is a matter of less than that.” (NBC’s Meet the Press, 8-4-02)

SEN. HILLARY CLINTON (D-NY):

Q: “Do you believe we could have disarmament without regime change?”

CLINTON: “I doubt it. I can support the President; I can support an action against Saddam Hussein because I think it is in the long term interest of our national security.” (NBC’s Meet the Press, 9-15-02)

SENATE MINORITY LEADER HARRY REID (D-NV): “Saddam Hussein in effect has thumbed his nose at the world community and I think that the President is approaching this in the right fashion.” (CNN’s Inside Politics, 9-18-02)

SEN. JOHN EDWARDS (D-NC): “Serving on the intelligence committee and seeing day after day, week after week, briefings on Saddam’s weapons of mass destruction and his plans of using those weapons, he cannot be allowed to have nuclear weapons. It’s just that simple.” (MSNBC’s Buchanan and Press, 1-7-03)

SEN. EVAN BAYH (D-IN): “Bill, I support the President’s efforts to disarm Saddam Hussein. I think he was right on in his speech tonight. The lessons we learned following September 11 were that we can’t wait to be attacked again, particularly when it involves weapons of mass destruction. So, regrettably, Saddam has not done the right thing which is to disarm and we’re left with no alternative but to take action.” (Fox News’s O’Reilly Factor, 3-17-03)

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH:

“When I made the decision to remove Saddam Hussein from power, Congress approved it with strong bipartisan support.”

“While it is perfectly legitimate to criticize my decision of the conduct of the war, it is deeply irresponsible to rewrite the history on how the war began.”

“These critics are fully aware that a bipartisan senate investigation found no evidence of political pressure to change the intelligence community’s judgments related to Iraq’s weapons programs.”

“As our troops fight a ruthless enemy determined to destroy our way of life, they deserve to know that their elected leaders who voted to send them to war continue to stand behind them.” (Veterans Day speech, Tobyhanna, PA, 11-11-05)



10 DOWNING STREET

Prime Minister Blair's speech to TUC conference in Blackpool

10 September 2002

<http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page1725.asp>

Tomorrow, September 11, is the anniversary of the worst terrorist act in history. Let us today, once again, remember and mourn the dead. Let us give thanks to the fire fighters, the police, the ambulance and medical services, the ordinary citizens of New York. Their courage was the best answer to the terrorists' cruelty. Terrorists can kill and maim the innocent, but they have not won and they never will. ...

On September 11 last year, with the world still reeling from the shock of events, it came together to demand action. But suppose I had come last year on the same day as this year - 10 September. Suppose I had said to you: there is a terrorist network called Al Qaida. It operates out of Afghanistan. It has carried out several attacks and we believe it is planning more. It has been condemned by the UN in the strongest terms. Unless it is stopped, the threat will grow. And so I want to take action to prevent that.

Your response and probably that of most people would have been very similar to the response of some of you yesterday on Iraq. There would have been few takers for dealing with it and probably none for taking military action of any description.

So let me tell you why I say Saddam Hussein is a threat that has to be dealt with.

He has twice before started wars of aggression. Over one million people died in them. When the weapons inspectors were evicted from Iraq in 1998 there were still enough chemical and biological weapons remaining to devastate the entire Gulf region.

I sometimes think that there is a kind of word fatigue about chemical and biological weapons. We're not talking about some mild variants of everyday chemicals, but anthrax, sarin and mustard gas - weapons that can cause hurt and agony on a mass scale beyond the comprehension of most decent people.

Uniquely Saddam has used these weapons against his own people, the Iraqi kurds. Scores of towns and villages were attacked. ...

Saddam has a nuclear weapons programme too, denied for years, that was only disrupted after inspectors went in to disrupt it. He is in breach of 23 outstanding UN obligations requiring him to admit inspectors and to disarm.

People say: but containment has worked. Only up to a point. In truth, sanctions are eroding. He now gets around \$3 billion through illicit trading every year. It is unaccounted for, but almost certainly used for his weapons programmes.

Every day this year and for years, British and American pilots risk their lives to police the No Fly Zones. But it can't go on forever. For years when the weapons inspectors were in Iraq, Saddam lied, concealed, obstructed and harassed them. For the last four years there have been no inspections, no monitoring, despite constant pleas and months of negotiating with the UN. In July, Kofi Annan ended his personal involvement in talks because of Iraqi intransigence.

Meanwhile Iraq's people are oppressed and kept in poverty. With the Taliban gone, Saddam is unrivalled as the world's worst regime: brutal, dictatorial, with a wretched human rights record.

Given that history, I say to you: to allow him to use the weapons he has or get the weapons he wants, would be an act of gross irresponsibility and we should not countenance it.

Up to this point, I believe many here in this hall would agree. The question is: how to proceed? I totally understand the concerns of people about precipitate military action. Military action should only ever be a last resort. On the four major occasions that I have authorised it as Prime Minister, it has been when no other option remained.

I believe it is right to deal with Saddam through the United Nations. After all, it is the will of the UN he is flouting. He, not me or George Bush, is in breach of UN Resolutions. If the challenge to us is to work with the UN, we will respond to it.

But if we do so, then the challenge to all in the UN is this: the UN must be the way to resolve the threat from Saddam not avoid it.

Let it be clear that he must be disarmed. Let it be clear that there can be no more conditions, no more games, no more prevaricating, no more undermining of the UN's authority.

And let it be clear that should the will of the UN be ignored, action will follow. Diplomacy is vital. But when dealing with dictators - and none in the world is worse than Saddam - diplomacy has to be backed by the certain knowledge in the dictator's mind that behind the diplomacy is the possibility of force being used.

Because I say to you in all earnestness: if we do not deal with the threat from this international outlaw and his barbaric regime, it may not erupt and engulf us this month or next; perhaps not even this year or the next. But it will at some point. And I do not want it on my conscience that we knew the threat, saw it coming and did nothing.

I know this is not what some people want to hear. But I ask you only this: to listen to the case I will be developing over the coming weeks and reflect on it.

And before there is any question of taking military action, I can categorically assure you that Parliament will be consulted and will have the fullest opportunity to debate the matter and express its view. ...

The key characteristic of today's world is interdependence. Your problem becomes my problem. They have to be tackled collectively. ... Terrorism and weapons of mass destruction combine modern technology with political or religious fanaticism. If unchecked they will, as September 11 showed, explode into disorder and chaos.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Fact Sheet

Excerpt from White House background paper “A Decade of Deception and Defiance”

Washington, DC

November 8, 2002

Security Council Resolutions Concerning Iraq

Saddam Hussein’s Defiance of United Nations Resolutions

Saddam Hussein has repeatedly violated seventeen United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs) designed to ensure that Iraq does not pose a threat to international peace and security. In addition to these repeated violations, he has tried, over the past decade, to circumvent UN economic sanctions against Iraq, which are reflected in a number of other resolutions. As noted in the resolutions, Saddam Hussein was required to fulfill many obligations beyond the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Specifically, Saddam Hussein was required to, among other things: allow international weapons inspectors to oversee the destruction of his weapons of mass destruction; not develop new weapons of mass destruction; destroy all of his ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometers; stop support for terrorism and prevent terrorist organizations from operating within Iraq; help account for missing Kuwaitis and other individuals; return stolen Kuwaiti property and bear financial liability for damage from the Gulf War; and he was required to end his repression of the Iraqi people. Saddam Hussein has repeatedly violated each of the resolutions, a list of which is available at <http://www.state.gov/p/nea/rls/01fs/14906.htm>.

**United Nations
Security Council**

S/2002/1198

Provisional
7 November 2002
Original: English

**United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of
America: draft resolution**

[Adopted as Resolution 1441 at Security Council meeting 4644, 8 November 2002]

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, in particular its resolutions 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, 678 (1990) of 29 November 1990, 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991, 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 688 (1991) of 5 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991, 986 (1995) of 14 April 1995, and 1284 (1999) of 17 December 1999, and all the relevant statements of its President,

Recalling also its resolution 1382 (2001) of 29 November 2001 and its intention to implement it fully,

Recognizing the threat Iraq's non-compliance with Council resolutions and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles poses to international peace and security,

Recalling that its resolution 678 (1990) authorized Member States to use all necessary means to uphold and implement its resolution 660 (1990) of 2 August 1990 and all relevant resolutions subsequent to resolution 660 (1990) and to restore international peace and security in the area,

Further recalling that its resolution 687 (1991) imposed obligations on Iraq as a necessary step for achievement of its stated objective of restoring international peace and security in the area,

Deploring the fact that Iraq has not provided an accurate, full, final, and complete disclosure, as required by resolution 687 (1991), of all aspects of its programmes to develop weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range greater than one hundred and fifty kilometres, and of all holdings of such weapons, their components and production facilities and locations, as well as all other nuclear programmes, including any which it claims are for purposes not related to nuclear-weapons-usable material,

Deploring further that Iraq repeatedly obstructed immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to sites designated by the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), failed to cooperate fully and unconditionally with UNSCOM and IAEA weapons inspectors, as required by resolution 687 (1991), and ultimately ceased all cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA in 1998,

Deploring the absence, since December 1998, in Iraq of international monitoring, inspection, and verification, as required by relevant resolutions, of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, in spite of the Council's repeated demands that Iraq provide immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), established in resolution 1284 (1999) as the successor organization to UNSCOM, and the IAEA, and

regretting the consequent prolonging of the crisis in the region and the suffering of the Iraqi people,

Deploring also that the Government of Iraq has failed to comply with its commitments pursuant to resolution 687 (1991) with regard to terrorism, pursuant to resolution 688 (1991) to end repression of its civilian population and to provide access by international humanitarian organizations to all those in need of assistance in Iraq, and pursuant to resolutions 686 (1991), 687 (1991), and 1284 (1999) to return or cooperate in accounting for Kuwaiti and third country nationals wrongfully detained by Iraq, or to return Kuwaiti property wrongfully seized by Iraq,

Recalling that in its resolution 687 (1991) the Council declared that a ceasefire would be based on acceptance by Iraq of the provisions of that resolution, including the obligations on Iraq contained therein,

Determined to ensure full and immediate compliance by Iraq without conditions or restrictions with its obligations under resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions and recalling that the resolutions of the Council constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance,

Recalling that the effective operation of UNMOVIC, as the successor organization to the Special Commission, and the IAEA is essential for the implementation of resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions,

Noting the letter dated 16 September 2002 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General is a necessary first step toward rectifying Iraq's continued failure to comply with relevant Council resolutions,

Noting further the letter dated 8 October 2002 from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to General Al-Saadi of the Government of Iraq laying out the practical arrangements, as a follow-up to their meeting in Vienna, that are prerequisites for the resumption of inspections in Iraq by UNMOVIC and the IAEA, and expressing the gravest concern at the continued failure by the Government of Iraq to provide confirmation of the arrangements as laid out in that letter,

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, Kuwait, and the neighbouring States,

Commending the Secretary-General and members of the League of Arab States and its Secretary-General for their efforts in this regard,

Determined to secure full compliance with its decisions,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Decides* that Iraq has been and remains in material breach of its obligations under relevant resolutions, including resolution 687 (1991), in particular through Iraq's failure to cooperate with United Nations inspectors and the IAEA, and to complete the actions required under paragraphs 8 to 13 of resolution 687 (1991);

2. *Decides*, while acknowledging paragraph 1 above, to afford Iraq, by this resolution, a final

opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations under relevant resolutions of the Council; and accordingly decides to set up an enhanced inspection regime with the aim of bringing to full and verified completion the disarmament process established by resolution 687 (1991) and subsequent resolutions of the Council;

3. *Decides* that, in order to begin to comply with its disarmament obligations, in addition to submitting the required biannual declarations, the Government of Iraq shall provide to UNMOVIC, the IAEA, and the Council, not later than 30 days from the date of this resolution, a currently accurate, full, and complete declaration of all aspects of its programmes to develop chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and other delivery systems such as unmanned aerial vehicles and dispersal systems designed for use on aircraft, including any holdings and precise locations of such weapons, components, sub-components, stocks of agents, and related material and equipment, the locations and work of its research, development and production facilities, as well as all other chemical, biological, and nuclear programmes, including any which it claims are for purposes not related to weapon production or material;

4. *Decides* that false statements or omissions in the declarations submitted by Iraq pursuant to this resolution and failure by Iraq at any time to comply with, and cooperate fully in the implementation of, this resolution shall constitute a further material breach of Iraq's obligations and will be reported to the Council for assessment in accordance with paragraphs 11 and 12 below;

5. *Decides* that Iraq shall provide UNMOVIC and the IAEA immediate, unimpeded, unconditional, and unrestricted access to any and all, including underground, areas, facilities, buildings, equipment, records, and means of transport which they wish to inspect, as well as immediate, unimpeded, unrestricted, and private access to all officials and other persons whom UNMOVIC or the IAEA wish to interview in the mode or location of UNMOVIC's or the IAEA's choice pursuant to any aspect of their mandates; further decides that UNMOVIC and the IAEA may at their discretion conduct interviews inside or outside of Iraq, may facilitate the travel of those interviewed and family members outside of Iraq, and that, at the sole discretion of UNMOVIC and the IAEA, such interviews may occur without the presence of observers from the Iraqi Government; and instructs UNMOVIC and requests the IAEA to resume inspections no later than 45 days following adoption of this resolution and to update the Council 60 days thereafter;

6. *Endorses* the 8 October 2002 letter from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to General Al-Saadi of the Government of Iraq, which is annexed hereto, and decides that the contents of the letter shall be binding upon Iraq;

7. *Decides* further that, in view of the prolonged interruption by Iraq of the presence of UNMOVIC and the IAEA and in order for them to accomplish the tasks set forth in this resolution and all previous relevant resolutions and notwithstanding prior understandings, the Council hereby establishes the following revised or additional authorities, which shall be binding upon Iraq, to facilitate their work in Iraq ...

8. *Decides* further that Iraq shall not take or threaten hostile acts directed against any representative or personnel of the United Nations or the IAEA or of any Member State taking action to uphold any Council resolution;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General immediately to notify Iraq of this resolution, which is binding on Iraq; demands that Iraq confirm within seven days of that notification its intention to comply fully with this resolution; and demands further that Iraq cooperate immediately, unconditionally, and actively with UNMOVIC and the IAEA;

10. *Requests* all Member States to give full support to UNMOVIC and the IAEA in the discharge of their mandates, including by providing any information related to prohibited programmes or other aspects of their mandates, including on Iraqi attempts since 1998 to acquire prohibited items, and by recommending sites to be inspected, persons to be interviewed, conditions of such interviews, and data to be collected, the results of which shall be reported to the Council by UNMOVIC and the IAEA;

11. *Directs* the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to report immediately to the Council any interference by Iraq with inspection activities, as well as any failure by Iraq to comply with its disarmament obligations, including its obligations regarding inspections under this resolution;

12. *Decides* to convene immediately upon receipt of a report in accordance with paragraphs 4 or 11 above, in order to consider the situation and the need for full compliance with all of the relevant Council resolutions in order to secure international peace and security;

13. *Recalls*, in that context, that the Council has repeatedly warned Iraq that it will face serious consequences as a result of its continued violations of its obligations;

14. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

<http://www.un.int/usa/sres-iraq.htm>